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FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE TENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1929).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.C.F., M.P., HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

We beg to submit our Report on the Tenth (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva from the 2nd to 25th September, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. Following the precedent of previous years we have already submitted our Interim Report, in which we gave a summarised account of matters of general interest and a more detailed description of our own work, and we concluded with some general observations and proposals. This Report reproduces the bulk of the Interim Report, together with the text of the resolutions of the Assembly and certain Reports of Committees and speeches and other matters necessary to complete the record.

Preliminary Remarks.

3. Numerically the Indian Delegation was the same as for some years past, consisting of three full and three substitute delegates. Only one of us, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, who was making his third appearance at Geneva as a delegate, had had previous experience of the Assembly. We shall offer some observations later as to the need for greater continuity in the representation of India. The leadership of the Delegation was, for the first time, entrusted to an Indian.

4. As soon as those of us who came from India were assembled in London a meeting was held at the India Office, when the position which we were to occupy was explained to us on behalf of the Secretary of State on lines similar to those which have been reported by our predecessors, and we afterwards discussed and settled among ourselves the arrangements for the distribution of work. We met again on the day on which we arrived in Geneva, and later on the same day we attended a meeting of all the Delegations which were representing the British Empire at the Assembly. The Prime Minister of Great Britain, who presided over this meeting, drew no distinction between India and the Dominions in speaking of the importance of voluntary and independent collaboration, and he referred with warm sympathy to the presence of an Indian at the head of the Indian Delegation for the first time. Among other things arrangements were made at this meeting for discussions to take place between representatives of all the Empire States with the object of arriving at the greatest possible degree of uniformity in the declaration which was to accompany the signature of the Optional Clause. Sir Muhammad Habibullah and Sir Ewart Greaves attended these discussions throughout on behalf of India.

Opening of the Tenth Session.

5. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on 2nd September by His Highness Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi (Persian Ambassador to Turkey and representative of Persia on the Council) acting as President of the Council.

6. Fifty-three out of 54 States Members were represented in the Assembly. The Argentine Republic, whose membership is at present only nominal, was the sole absentee. Bolivia, Honduras, and Peru were present after long periods of absence. The Bolivian delegate took occasion to acknowledge publicly his country's gratitude for the action of the League when Bolivia had been involved in December 1928 in a serious frontier dispute which had threatened to lead to war. Six Prime Ministers, some of whom were also Ministers for Foreign Affairs, attended, and the number included the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France. Twenty Foreign Ministers, excluding those who were also Prime Ministers, were present, among them the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and Germany. The number of women who were present as delegates was 12, the highest so far recorded. His Excellency Dr. J. G. Guerrero (Minister of Salvador in France) was elected President of the Assembly, and the election of Vice-Presidents and of members of the General and Agenda Committees proceeded in accordance with the usual routine. We were gratified by the election of our leader to the chairmanship of the Agenda Committee, which happened to be a position of more importance than usual this year. As Chairman of the Agenda Committee Sir Muhammad Habibullah obtained a place on the General Committee of the Assembly, which was a source of advantage in several respects, as well as a much coveted distinction.

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on 31 October, 2019

The General Debate.

7. It was generally expected that the Tenth Session was going to be of unusual interest and importance. The satisfactory conclusion of the Hague Conference with final arrangements relating to reparations and the Rhineland and the advent of a British Government pledged to a progressive policy in relation to the League were both factors which seemed favourable to important developments. Anticipations were fully realised. The opening debate was distinguished by a number of unusually notable speeches, and these speeches contained, in addition to the habitual declarations of faith, definite proposals and constructive suggestions which set the course of the subsequent discussions in the Committees. The most valuable outcome of the Assembly, namely, the great extension of the acceptance of the principle of compulsory arbitration, was not itself the subject of much public debate. But the initiative taken by various Delegations, and by the British Delegation in particular, in the opening debate led to discussions which dealt with most of the primary aspects of the League's work in a fundamental manner, and resulted in some important modifications of policy and in the institution of some inquiries which are calculated to lead to further notable developments. A convention is growing up as to the proper duration of a session of the Assembly. The length of different sessions may vary within a few days, but does not seem to vary in any precise relation to the requirements of the subject-matter. There is, therefore, a limit to the amount of subject-matter which can be effectively treated. That limit was probably reached, if not exceeded, this year. We should, in fact, be inclined to think that in some matters the concluding stages were subject to undue pressure. It could be reasonably maintained that fuller scope was available for the oratorical than for the deliberative phase of the proceedings. We were glad that it was decided to set up a Committee to consider the means of improving the conduct of the Assembly debates, and we hope that this inquiry will result in some mitigation of the rush, the uncertainty and tension of mind and temper that are apt to characterise the effective stages.

8. It will, perhaps, be the simplest course if we indicate the main features of the general debate under subjects rather than under speakers.

The Optional Clause.

9. As we have already mentioned, the outstanding feature of this Assembly was the acceptance by a number of States, some of first-class importance, of the obligation to submit to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable matters. The provisions of the Statute of the Court which are brought into operation by the signature of the Optional Clause are contained in Article 36 of the Statute, which runs as follows:—

"The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

"The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning—

(*a*) the interpretation of a treaty;
(*b*) any question of International Law;
(*c*) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
(*d*) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court."

10. Of the States which had so far accepted the obligation contained in this article, Germany and Spain were the most important. Speaking at the opening of the general debate in the Assembly the Prime Minister of Great Britain said that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had decided to sign the Optional Clause and that the form of declaration to accompany signature would be completed during the session; he said further that he believed that each of the Governments of the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations who are also members of the League would instruct its representatives to sign the Optional Clause during the session and would make their own statements on the subject. Correspondence had been taking place before the Assembly between the Governments of Great Britain and those other parts of the Empire with the object of arriving at uniformity in the terms of the declaration to accompany signature, as it was generally recognised that acceptance of the Optional Clause without some degree of qualification was not possible in the complex circumstances of the British Empire and that a common measure of qualification was desirable. The questions raised in this correspondence formed the subject of discussions at Geneva, in which, as already stated, two members of our Delegation took part. Eventually

a formula was drawn up which was acceptable to all parts of the British Empire except the Irish Free State, whose representative signed the Clause subject to ratification with effect for 20 years on the sole condition of reciprocity. This formula as actually adapted to the case of India runs as follows :—

"On behalf of the Government of India and subject to ratification, I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, para. 2, of the Statute of the Court, for a period of 10 years and thereafter until such time as notice may be given to terminate the acceptance, over all disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations or facts subsequent to the said ratification, other than—

"disputes in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement; and

"disputes with the Government of any other Member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree; and

"disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India.

"And subject to the condition that the Government of India reserve the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within 10 days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the Court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of 12 months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by decision of all the Members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute."

11. With a declaration in these terms Sir Muhammad Habibullah signed the Clause on 19th September in company with the representatives of Great Britain, New Zealand, South Africa, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and Peru. The countries which, in addition to the British Empire States and those other States just mentioned, signed the Optional Clause during the Assembly were Italy, Greece, Latvia, Siam, and Nicaragua. Thus 15 States signed the Clause during the Tenth Session. In all cases, except that of Greece, the signature is subject to ratification. The position in regard to the Optional Clause now appears to be that adherence is effective in the case of 19 States; 18 more have signed subject to ratification, which is pending; and in addition the ratification of Brazil will become effective as soon as the second permanent member of the Council has ratified.

Disarmament.

12. The Preparatory Committee had held in the course of the year a further meeting which had been satisfactory rather from the point of view of clearing the ground for the summoning of the Conference itself than from that of the adoption of conclusions which promised an effective reduction of armaments in the near future. Many delegates spoke of the necessity for an early and radical solution of this problem, but whereas in 1928 strong pressure had been exerted for a date to be fixed for the summoning of the Conference during the following year, there was less evidence of impatience at the present session. The reason for this was clearly to be found in the satisfactory state of the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States of America on the naval question. Mr. MacDonald outlined in the Assembly his policy of proceeding from a provisional agreement between the British and American Governments through an agreement between the five Naval Powers to an agreement of universal scope. M. Briand declared that when the Naval Agreement of which Mr. MacDonald had spoken became an accomplished fact the Preparatory Commission would be able to complete its work and the Council would be able to fix a date for the meeting of the Disarmament Conference. The late Dr. Stresemann, in a speech which was the last but not the least distinguished and courageous of his public utterances, said that after the great disappointment felt at the way in which the question of disarmament had been held up for so many years there was reason to hope that definite progress would now be made; the German representative had had occasion expressly to dissociate himself from the resolutions of the Preparatory Commission at its last meeting because Germany could not agree to share responsibility for a manner of proceeding which was in her opinion not compatible with the provisions of the Covenant; he now hoped that the negotiations between the Naval Powers would shortly help the members of the League out of their dilemma and enable them to make real progress with the disarmament negotiations.

Amendment of the Covenant.

13. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and later Mr. Henderson in greater detail, drew attention to the desirability of amending certain Articles of the Covenant (12 and 15) in the light of the Paris Peace Pact. These Articles, said Mr. Henderson, made possible recourse to war as an instrument of national policy in certain cases where the League under the terms of the

Covenant had not been able to reach a decision in a dispute or where, a decision having been reached, it had not been accepted by the parties to that dispute; thus the right of private war remained legitimate in certain circumstances under the Covenant although it had been abolished by the Pact of Peace. The Pact had thus gone beyond the Covenant, which should therefore be brought up to date. M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, who was one of the original framers of the Covenant, but who spoke for the first time in the Assembly, supported the necessity for its revision. Dr. Stresemann thought that it would be necessary also to examine other provisions of the Covenant which were inseparably bound up with the Pact of Paris. The further issue of this proposal will be reported later.

Protection of Minorities.

14. This problem had been examined in its entirety by the Council during the session of last year. Some improvements in the procedure for dealing with minority petitions had been introduced, but there had been no radical modification of the League's treatment of this question. While unanimity had been reached in regard to procedure, the question of substance had been left open. Dr. Stresemann in the Assembly expressed the view that the League ought not merely to give effect to the various petitions submitted to it, but ought under the terms of the minority law in force to keep itself completely and generally informed of the position of minorities under the system set up by the treaties; he expressed a doubt whether the League was absolutely clear and unanimously agreed as to the object to be attained, and he could not regard the present situation concerning this problem as final; he hoped that the League would shortly set up a special Organisation to deal with the minorities question as it had already done in the case of economic questions and mandates; but in view of the discussions which had lately taken place he did not propose this year that the minorities question should be discussed by the Sixth Committee, and he reserved the suggestion of a special organisation for future years. Count Apponyi, speaking for Hungary, associated himself with Dr. Stresemann's remarks, and accordingly the Sixth Committee of the Assembly was not required to discuss the minorities problem.

Economic Questions and the "United States of Europe."

15. There had been persistent reports before the Assembly opened that M. Briand intended to support the project which is known as the "United States of Europe." When he spoke in the Assembly he said that he thought that among peoples constituting geographical groups like the peoples of Europe there should be some kind of federal bond; it should be possible for them to get into touch at any time to confer about their interests, to agree on joint resolutions, and to establish among themselves a bond of solidarity which would enable them, if need be, to meet any grave emergency that might arise. Obviously, he said, this association would be primarily economic, for that was the most urgent aspect of the question, and he thought that success might be looked for in that direction; but he was convinced that politically and socially also this federal link might, without affecting the sovereignty of any of the nations belonging to such an association, do useful work. Later he made it known that he intended to circulate to the Governments of European countries a memorandum embodying his views in greater detail and it is intended that the matter should be discussed in a more precise form at the next Assembly. Before M. Briand spoke, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had said, after expressing the hope that M. Briand would elaborate the ideas attributed to him, that the problem of tariffs must be faced at this session of the Assembly; tariff barriers between the producer and the consumer had certainly not in his view been justified by the experience of the world up to the present. He said that every effort to turn political nationality from being the cause of economic obstruction and to make it an instrument in economic co-operation would receive the support of Great Britain. Dr. Stresemann thought that the reorganisation of the relations between the various countries of Europe was not, strictly speaking, one which directly concerned the League, as the League was a world-wide institution and not confined to one continent, but it was a question which indirectly affected the whole conception of world economy; he refused to be sceptical with regard to the idea; he absolutely rejected any political ideas directed against other continents and anything that could be interpreted as an economic autarchy of Europe, but it seemed to him that a great deal had not been done that could still be done; he suggested that the subdivisions born of national prestige were long since out of date and did an immense amount of harm to the continent of Europe, not only in the relations between the different countries of Europe, but in those between Europe and other continents; every step, he said, towards the rationalisation of economic conditions would benefit not only European competitors but also the exporters of other continents. Mr. Graham, the President of the British Board of Trade, thought that at the moment there might be other methods than those implied in the idea of the "United States of Europe" which would lead in the direction of freer trade at an earlier date and with perhaps more practical results. Without wishing to close the door upon any scheme for European federation he hoped that enthusiasm in the study of such a scheme would not lead to discrimination against another continent or against individual countries or among

themselves; if Great Britain or any other country embarked upon a policy of discrimination it would be untrue to all that was best in the economic work of the League, and such a policy might generate that friction which would manufacture war between the nations. Mr. Graham then went on to develop his concrete proposals for an agreement not to increase tariffs for two years and for an effort during that interval to negotiate multilateral agreements for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. We shall describe the development of this proposal later. Before the general debate ended Major Marr, the leader of the Australian Delegation, sounded a note of warning as to the position of non-European States. He said that many of these States had radically different economic problems from those of Europe, and that if it were decided that the most appropriate way of dealing with the problem of European tariffs was by means of an international Convention it ought to be recognised by the Assembly that there might be a number of non-European States Members who would at this stage of their development be unable to adhere to such a Convention. The economic interests of industrial Europe and of the younger overseas nations being so different, it was necessary for the League to proceed with caution, for a comprehensive policy in regard to tariffs, while perhaps suitable in Europe, might well be inapplicable in many parts of the world.

Egypt and the East.

16. Speaking with a special reference to the negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made some observations on the subject of the relations between Europe and the East which we will quote in full:—

"There exists an old world, old in philosophy, old in religion, old in culture, which has hitherto been weak in those material powers that have characterised the Western peoples. But that old world, wrapped in slumber as we thought, has now awakened and, taught and tutored very largely by us, is now beginning to understand what national self-respect is. It is bringing our own ideas home to us borne in its hands, and is asking us to honour the effects of our own action and to grant it, not by charity, but because our own hearts are enlightened, the freedom that we have been nourishing and nurturing for ourselves for so many generations.

"The great danger of war rests then in this, that we may be too long in performing the act of recognition, that we, by our delays, by our half-heartedness, by our lack of courage, may cause forces to accumulate in the political and social life of these nations so that they will present to us not a request but an ultimatum, will make their requests in such a way that, if obstacles can be placed in the way of granting them, those obstacles will so be placed. We say, 'Make peace while there is still time to do it with honour and with self-respect.' In that way peace will come, not as the result of war, not as the result of a challenge, but with all the glowing beneficence of a new day supplanting an old night.

"What we want to do, therefore, in making our contribution in the nature of the agreement with Egypt is this: We want to give those nations full confidence in negotiation and in reason. Never ought we to put the great East into the position of saying, 'Our only chance of becoming free from undertakings that are now too old to be observed is to tear them up in the faces of those with whom we made them.' There rests the danger of war between one side of the world and the other; and by facing the problem in time we shall extend the realm of peaceful negotiation, resulting in the liberties of the peoples of the earth. We shall make allies instead of enemies when the peoples become free."

China and Article 19 of the Covenant.

17. Dr. Chao-Chu Wu, First Delegate of China, referring to the remarks of Mr. MacDonald which we have just quoted, described them as urging the necessity of justice and equality in the relations between peoples whether on the same continent or on different hemispheres, and said that no more inspiring words had been uttered by a responsible statesman since the time, 10 years ago, when President Wilson gave expression to the aspirations of the nations in their dealings one with another. He then called attention to Article 19 of the Covenant, which provides that the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. This, he said, was a most essential Article, but the Assembly had not once in the course of 10 years acted upon it. Later he submitted a proposal for the appointment of a Committee to consider and report on the best methods of making effective the above-mentioned Article. The action on this proposal will be described later.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah's Speech.

18. In the course of the general debate Sir Muhammad Habibullah addressed the Assembly. Speaking as the first Indian to lead an Indian Delegation at the Assembly, he acknowledged a debt of gratitude to his predecessors of British race who had served India with single-minded and unswerving loyalty. He described the activities of the Council and of its many organisations designed to promote lasting goodwill and concord among men and to foster

co-operative international endeavour—political, social and economic—as being the most powerful aid to the stability and vitality of the spirit that made for lasting peace. He said that he would take back with him from Geneva the impression of the earnest sincerity and steadfast endeavour of those whom he had met and heard at Geneva, to seek and ensue the ideal enshrined in the Covenant. The records of the Assembly for the last nine years were evidence that India was ardent and firm in her support of the League. The problems of India were in the main different from the problems of economic and political reconstruction which, owing to the nearness of the countries concerned and to their own dangerous implications, the League had had to handle. In spite of India's remoteness and poverty she had been prompt and active in doing her duty by the League, and she was determined to contribute her full quota of energy and effort to the ideals for which the League stood. Sir Muhammad then announced that he had been authorised by his Government to sign the Optional Clause and would do so before the end of the session. India had experienced enough of the effects of the Great War to be able to visualise what havoc a new war could work, and she was as anxious as any other country to see peace perpetuated on a basis of disarmament. A glance at the map of the frontiers of India would show what the difficulties of India were, and so long as they existed India must be prepared to meet them. Subject to this condition, which was really an obligation of national safety, India was always ready to play her part in the preparation of peace. He then proceeded to the work of the technical organisations of the League, and referred to the recent interchange of health officers which had been organised by the League in India, to the visit of the Malaria Commission to India, which was at the moment proceeding, and to the co-operation of India in the work of the Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore; he expressed a hope that the League might later extend to the East its studies in rural hygiene and into the causes of mortality among children. He had singled out the Health Organisation for mention because it was the organisation with which India had been brought most directly into touch, and he pointed out that the strength of a country's interest in the League was substantially dependent upon the interest in its affairs which the League displayed; he observed that there was a feeling in India, as perhaps also in other Eastern countries, that the West claimed most of the attention of the League. It was the aim of the authorities in India to create mass opinion favourable to the League, but before that could be done opinion among the educated classes had to be mobilised. Sir Muhammad mentioned that Associations had been formed in the more important cities to educate public opinion, and it was intended by the Government to hold a conference to consider the methods of inculcating the aims and objects of the League in the rising generation. But practical demonstrations of the League's interest in India, such as he had mentioned, won far more adherents than a multitude of pamphlets and lectures. Questions were being asked in India such as what steps the League had taken to study and understand the needs of India; who there was on the staff of the League to advise with the understanding that came only from affinities born of racial kinship on what was likely to quicken interest in India; and when India might hope to take her place among those who determined the higher policy and discharged the highest responsibilities of the League. Such questions were constantly present in the minds of those who took an interest in public affairs and they pressed for answers.

The text of the speech will be found among the Appendices.

Elections to the Council.

19. The States which retired by rotation after three years' membership of the Council were Chili, Roumania, and Poland. Poland at the time of her election in 1926 had obtained the necessary two-thirds majority in favour of re-eligibility and was therefore free to stand again. There is an understanding that the representation of South America will not be reduced, and it was expected that Roumania would be replaced by another State of the Little Entente. Fifty-three States voted and when the votes were counted it was found that Poland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (now Yugoslavia), and Peru had been elected by 50, 42, and 36 votes respectively. The only other State to receive any considerable number of votes was Norway with 22.

Elections to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

20. Elections were necessary to fill the vacancies created by the deaths of Lord Finlay and M. Weiss, of British and French nationality respectively. Fifty-two States voted in the Assembly; Sir Cecil Hurst (Great Britain) and M. Fromageot (France) obtained 40 and 37 votes respectively. As these candidates had also obtained a majority in the election held concurrently by the Council they were declared elected.

Foundation Stone of New League Buildings.

21. The afternoon of Saturday, 7th September, was the occasion of an interesting and historic ceremony, when the foundation stone of the new League Buildings, which are to comprise an Assembly Hall, Secretariat Offices, and a Library, was laid in the Ariana Park.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah was present in the special stand reserved for leading representatives of the Assembly and of the League Organisations. Other members of the Delegation also attended. Speeches were delivered by the First Persian Delegate, as President of the Council, by the Secretary-General, by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and by the President of the Assembly, who performed the symbolic act of laying the stone. Some Indian coins and a commemorative inscription on parchment in Sanscrit and Urdu were deposited with the stone, together with similar records of the other States Members of the League.

Work of the Six Committees.

22. We now turn to the work of the six Committees, which were constituted as follows in accordance with precedent:—

COMMITTEE I.

Legal and Constitutional Questions.

Chairman: M. Scialoja (Italy); *Delegate of India:* Sir Ewart Greaves.

COMMITTEE II.

Technical Organisations.

Chairman: M. Motta (Switzerland); *Delegates of India:* Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Sir Geoffrey Corbett.

COMMITTEE III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman: M. Benes (Czecho Slovakia); *Delegates of India:* Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Ewart Greaves, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE IV.

Budget and Financial Questions.

Chairman: Count Moltke (Denmark); *Delegates of India:* Sir Chunilal Mehta, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE V.

Social and Humanitarian Questions.

Chairman: Mr. O'Sullivan (Ireland); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman: M. Janson (Poland); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE I.—Legal and Constitutional Questions.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

(a) *Revision of Statute.*

23. The Assembly of 1928 had thought it advisable that before the general election of judges which is to take place next year the Statute should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience might show to be necessary. Accordingly a Committee of Jurists had been appointed by the Council, and this Committee had produced a series of proposals designed to carry out the wishes of the Assembly, which were not so much that the Statute should be completely recast as that it should be supplemented or improved in the light of experience. The Committee stated that it had in general been actuated by the desire to give the members of the League full assurance that the Permanent Court was a real judicial body which was completely at their disposal and which possessed both juristic competence and experience of international affairs. The Committee's proposals were considered by a Conference which met during the first week of the Assembly and on which India was represented by Sir Ewart Greaves. The conclusions of the Conference were reported to the Assembly through the First Committee. The effective recommendations of the Conference were embodied in textual amendments of the Statute annexed to a Protocol which was opened for signature. The Protocol was signed for India by Sir M. Habibullah.

24. The amendments relate to two main objects: (1) to consolidate the position of the judges, (2) to place the Court itself on a permanent and continuous basis. To meet the first, provisions relating to the functions and occupations incompatible with membership of the Court were introduced, and judges are prohibited from engaging in any other occupation of a professional nature interpreted in the widest sense and covering the activities of a manager

or director of a profit-making company ; also a definite salary is substituted for the system in force hitherto of annual indemnities and allowances for each day of service. To meet the second object mentioned above, the system of holding one ordinary annual session, with extraordinary sessions if necessary, is replaced by a provision for the Court to remain constantly in session except during vacations, and the judges must be constantly at the disposal of the Court except in prescribed circumstances ; deputy judges are abolished and replaced by ordinary judges, but the total number of 15 remains the same. Among other matters of secondary importance is the transfer to the text of the Statute of provisions hitherto included in the rules of the Court relating to the procedure governing advisory opinions.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly adopts the amendments to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the draft Protocol (Appendix*) which the Conference convened by the Council of the League of Nations has drawn up after consideration of the report of the Committee of Jurists, which met in March 1929 at Geneva and which included among its members a jurist of the United States of America. The Assembly expresses the hope that the draft Protocol drawn up by the Conference may receive as many signatures as possible before the close of the present session of the Assembly and that all the Governments concerned will use their utmost efforts to secure the entry into force of the amendments to the Statute of the Court before the opening of the next session of the Assembly, in the course of which the Assembly and the Council will be called upon to proceed to a new election of the members of the Court. (*Resolution adopted on* 14*th September* 1929.)

25. The Assembly also associated itself with a recommendation of the Conference that candidates should possess recognised practical experience in international law and should be at least able to read both the official languages of the Court and to speak one of them, in addition to the qualifications already prescribed in the Statute. The first part of this recommendation, that relating to practical experience, was challenged in the Assembly. The recommendation was therefore put to the vote and adopted by 32 votes to 15, recommendations only requiring a majority vote and not unanimity.

The Assembly associated itself with the following recommendation adopted by the Conference :—

The Conference recommends that, in accordance with the spirit of Articles 2 and 39 of the Statute of the Court, the Candidates nominated by the national groups should possess recognised practical experience in international law and that they should be at least able to read both the official languages of the Court and to speak one of them ; it also considers it desirable that to the nominations there should be attached a statement of the careers of the candidates justifying their candidature. (*Recommendation adopted on* 14*th September* 1929.)

(b) *Adherence of the U.S.A. to the Statute of the Court.*

26. It will be remembered that in 1926 the Senate of the U.S.A. passed a resolution as to the conditions on which the U.S.A. would join the Court. A Conference was held at Geneva immediately before the Assembly of 1926 to consider these conditions, and a Protocol was drawn up with a view to meeting the requirements of the U.S.A. Senate. The Protocol was not, however, accepted by the U.S.A. The Government of the U.S.A. intimated early in 1929 that a further exchange of views might lead to a settlement, and the Committee of Jurists appointed to consider the amendment of the Statute of the Court was accordingly invited to examine, in consultation with Mr. Elihu Root, the question of the conditions on which the U.S.A. would join the Court. The Committee and Mr. Root drew up a new Protocol designed to overcome the objections encountered by the Protocol of 1926. This Protocol was approved by the Conference held to consider the amendment of the Statute and by the Assembly and was opened for signature. It was signed on behalf of India by Sir M. Habibullah.

27. The difficulty to be overcome was connected with references to the Court for advisory opinions. The U.S.A. had stipulated that its consent should be necessary to any reference to the Court in a matter in which the U.S.A. had, or claimed to have, an interest. This point might have been conceded had it been established that reference to the Court for advisory opinions required on the part of the Council of the Assembly a unanimous vote. But it is not in fact certain whether reference to the Court for advisory opinions requires unanimity or whether a majority vote suffices. In the latter alternative, to concede the claim of the U.S.A. would have been to give the U.S.A. a right not possessed by Members of the League. The solution adopted, which is somewhat elaborate, provides for notification to the U.S.A. of requests for advisory opinions, for the exchange of views with the U.S.A. in cases in which the latter claims an interest, and for the withdrawal of the U.S.A. from the Court in the event of the result of this exchange of views proving unsatisfactory. There is every reason for hoping that these arrangements will be found to afford in practice protection to all parties and will succeed in securing the adherence of the U.S.A. to the Court.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution : —

The Assembly adopts the draft Protocol (Appendix*) relating to the adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. (*Resolution adopted on* 14*th September* 1929.)

* Not reprinted.

(c) *Proposal to give the Permanent Court jurisdiction as Court of Review.*

28. The Government of Finland had put forward a proposal for conferring on the Permanent Court jurisdiction as a Court of Review in respect of arbitral tribunals established by States. The proposal had reference more particularly to cases in which it might be claimed that an arbitral tribunal was without jurisdiction or had exceeded its jurisdiction, and the discussion of the proposal in the First Committee was devoted to this aspect of the matter. The proposal found some support, but the balance of opinion was unfavourable to setting up a Committee of Jurists to examine it. Sir Ewart Greaves argued that no difficulty arose if the parties to a dispute which came before a special tribunal had also signed the Optional Clause or if they had agreed in advance that questions relating to the competence of the tribunal might be referred to the Court: but in the absence of these conditions he did not think that there ought to be any attempt to force an appeal to the Court; the parties ought to be trusted to act reasonably, and when they had chosen their own tribunal for a particular case they ought not to be obliged to recognise the superior jurisdiction of an entirely different tribunal in regard to any matter which might arise out of the special tribunal's award; he was therefore against spending money to set up a Committee of Jurists to consider the question. The Assembly eventually resolved to invite the Council to submit to examination the question what would be the most appropriate procedure to be followed by States desiring to enable the Permanent Court to assume the functions of a Tribunal of Appeal from Arbitral Tribunals in cases of difference as to competence, and the results of this examination are to be communicated to States with a view to further discussion.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly invites the Council to submit to examination the question: What would be the most appropriate procedure to be followed by States desiring to enable the Permanent Court of International Justice to assume in a general manner, as between them, the functions of a tribunal of appeal from international arbitral tribunals in all cases where it is contended that the arbitral tribunal was without jurisdiction or exceeded its jurisdiction?

The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate the results of the above-mentioned study to the Governments of States which are Members of the League of Nations or signatories of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with a view to discussion at a later session of the Assembly. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September* 1929.)

AMENDMENT OF THE COVENANT.

29. We have already described Mr. Henderson's proposal that the Covenant should be amended so as to bring it into accord with the Pact of Paris. In the First Committee the British delegate submitted textual proposals for amendment, which in fact touched Article 13 as well as Articles 12 and 15. There was no opposition to the view that the Covenant should be brought into line with the Pact of Paris, but opinions were divided whether the amendments could be carried out at this Assembly and whether they should be restricted to the Articles in question. The Assembly eventually adopted on the proposal of the First Committee a resolution which, besides declaring that it is desirable that the Covenant should not any longer accord a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right had been renounced in the Pact of Paris, contemplates the appointment of a Committee to report as to the necessary amendments of the Covenant with a view to the appropriate action being taken at the Assembly of 1930.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Taking note of the resolution submitted to it on 6th September on behalf of various delegations to the effect that, in view of the large measure of acceptance obtained by the Pact signed at Paris on 27th August 1928, whereby the parties renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, it is desirable that Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be re-examined in order to determine whether it is necessary to make any modifications therein;

Taking note also of the resolution proposed by the Peruvian Delegation on 10th September recommending that a report should be obtained as to the alterations which were necessary in the Covenant of the League in order to give effect to the prohibitions contained in the Pact of Paris;

Declares that it is desirable that the terms of the Covenant of the League should not accord any longer to Members of the League a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right has been renounced by the provisions of the Pact of Paris referred to above;

Instructs the Secretary-General to communicate to all the Members of the League a copy of the amendments to the Covenant of the League which have been proposed for this purpose by the British Government (Annex*), together with such further papers as may be necessary;

Invites the Council to appoint a Committee of 11 persons to frame a report as to the amendments in the Covenant of the League which are necessary to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris. This Committee should meet in the first three months of 1930, and in the course of its work should take into account any replies or observations which have been received from the Members of the League by that date. The report of the Committee will be submitted to the Members of the League in order that such action as may be deemed appropriate may be taken during the meeting of the Eleventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly in 1930. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

* Not reprinted.

Article 19.

30. We have already reported the proposal submitted to the Assembly by the Chinese delegate. This was debated at some length in the First Committee and at still greater length in a Sub-Committee. There was general sympathy with the views expressed by the Chinese Delegation, and the moderation of their proposal was appreciated. Among other speakers Sir Ewart Greaves said that though he had no direct instructions from his Government, he felt justified in saying that the Government of India would be very sympathetic to the proposition which had been made on behalf of China, and that they would welcome the appointment of a Committee to consider the provisions of Article 19. Doubts were, however, expressed by other delegates as to the need for elucidating the Article and as to the desirability of any stereotyped procedure for its application. There was great difficulty in satisfying the desires of the Chinese Delegation without arousing apprehensions as to the stability of the treaties of peace. Certain States base great hopes upon Article 19, as, for instance, Hungary, whose spokesman said that Article 19 had afforded Hungary a moral basis for entering the League; other States for obvious reasons approach the Article with the utmost caution. It was eventually agreed not to appoint a Committee to consider and report on the best methods of making the Article effective, and the Assembly adopted a resolution of a declaratory nature as to the right of a Member of the League to place on the agenda of the Assembly questions arising under Article 19, and as to the duty of the Assembly to discuss such an application and if it thought proper to give the advice requested. Although the substance of the Chinese delegate's proposal was not accepted, the preamble of the resolution may be taken as favouring the view that the Chinese treaties are of the kind for which Article 19 was intended to provide.

Codification of International Law.

31. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

I.

The Assembly,

Conscious of the wide scope of the preparatory work undertaken for the First Codification Conference,

Requests the Council to call the attention of all the Governments invited to the Conference to the desirability of appointing without delay their representatives at the Conference, whether plenipotentiary delegates, substitute delegates, or technical delegates, in order that the members of the Conference may be able to make a thorough study of the documentation already assembled;

Recommends that, on the same occasion, the States which have not replied to the Preparatory Committee's questionnaire be invited to be so good as to do so.

II.

The Assembly,

Considering that, for the purpose of carrying on the work already begun for the progressive codification of international law, it is advisable that the Committee of Experts should continue its work,

Calls the attention of the Council to the desirability of inviting that Committee to hold further sessions after the First Codification Conference.

III.

The Assembly,

Having examined with the greatest interest the report of the Committee of Three Jurists,

Takes note of the Systematic Survey of the Subjects of International Law drawn up by the Jurists with a view to a general codification;

Observes that the report of the Committee upon the publication in the form of a code of the Conventions which are open to States in general shows that such a publication could not at present be achieved in a satisfactory manner;

Is of opinion, in particular, that it would be necessary first to proceed to codify the various successive Conventions which deal with certain particular subjects so as to determine what precisely are the texts in force and the States which are parties thereto;

Requests the Council to call the attention of the technical organisations of the League to the possibility that it might be desirable to make an effort in this direction, with the assistance of the Secretariat and in collaboration, where desirable, with the international bureaux, with a view to having the results of their work eventually brought into force by appropriate international conferences. (*Resolutions adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Ratification of International Conventions.

32. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution and Recommendation:—

The Assembly,

Recalling the Assembly resolution of 23rd September 1926 regarding undue delay in the ratification of conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations;

Recognising the progress already made by the concerted efforts of the Council and the Secretariat;

Considering that further measures appear desirable;

Requests the Council to set up a Committee to investigate, with the assistance of the Secretariat services, the reasons for the delays which still exist and the means by which the number of signatures, ratifications or accessions given to the conventions referred to above could be increased;

Recommends that this Committee should consist of seven members familiar with the technical aspects of general conventions or with parliamentary and constitutional practice;

Requests the Secretariat to draw up yearly for circulation to the Assembly, double-column tables indicating the position as regards signature and ratification of, or accessions to, the various conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. (*Resolution and Recommendation adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

COMMITTEE II.—Technical Organisations.

Work of the Economic Organisation.

(a) *Problem of Tariffs.*

33. Two factors combined to bring the question of tariffs into the limelight this year: first, the realisation that in spite of the weighty conclusions of the World Economic Conference of 1927 in favour of a general lowering of tariffs no decisive movement had yet occurred in this direction, and secondly, the tentative approaches to the idea of a "United States of Europe" of which we have spoken above in our report of the opening debate. Corresponding to these two factors there were two main currents of thought: first, that a solution of the problem must depend rather upon direct dealings between Governments than upon negotiations between technical experts, and moreover that for successful dealings between Governments a fundamental change in the conception of commercial policy in the direction of collective undertakings is needed; and secondly, that the conditions which call for and permit of a solution on these lines in the near future prevail mostly in Europe.

34. We have already described Mr. Graham's proposal in the Assembly for a tariff holiday during which negotiations for a collective reduction of tariffs might proceed. The main problem which the Second Committee had to face was how to give effect to this proposal without giving it an unpractically wide extension and at the same time without limiting it in a way which would be inconsistent with the universality of the League and which would arouse apprehensions in those States which might not feel justified in sacrificing their liberty of action and yet might be affected by the collective action of others.

35. The British Delegation first put Mr. Graham's proposal before the Second Committee in the form of a draft resolution which restricted the scope of the negotiations to protective tariffs and contemplated a Conference to secure by the end of 1931 a general reduction of such protective tariffs as were excessive, this Conference to be attended only by such countries as were ready to agree not to raise the level of their protective measures. The French Delegation also submitted a proposal of a similar nature for a Conference of Government representatives. These drafts were soon replaced by a joint British-French-Belgian draft, which elaborated the idea already described. In the course of the discussion on this resolution the Australian delegate expanded the views expressed on behalf of Australia in the Assembly to which we have already alluded; he thought there was too great a tendency to suggest that the League stood for a definite economic policy of free trade and that tariffs imposed for protective purposes were contrary to international ideals; the conclusions of the Economic Conference of 1927, he pointed out, aimed first at improving the European situation which had been made insecure by the new political frontiers resulting from the war, and secondly, not at the elimination of customs tariffs, but at the substitution of a movement for lowering them in place of one towards their increase; the Committee should realise frankly that the intention of the resolution was primarily European and that the younger overseas countries must retain their freedom of action; if these countries did not find themselves able to be associated with the resolution it should not be regarded as signifying lack of interest in the economic work of the League. The delegate of the Irish Free State regretted that the work of the League offered so little benefit to the agricultural countries and to those whose economic development was in its infancy; the overseas countries appeared to be disposed to accept the resolution on the understanding that it related exclusively to European problems, but he represented a country which was in a similar state of development and yet European; he objected strongly to the idea that only those countries which were able to pledge themselves to a tariff truce should take part in the subsequent developments; if this were the case the resolution would create a barrier between nations according to the state of their economic development and would be a step in the wrong direction. As will be seen later, the resolution was subsequently revised to meet this point.

36. Sir Geoffrey Corbett, speaking for India, said that there was no real parallel between Europe, separated by the tariff walls of 27 separate customs units, and India with its vast population, its single external customs régime and its freedom from internal barriers; he did not wish to criticise or discourage any attempt to solve the economic difficulties in which Europe was involved; he agreed with the view that had been expressed that it was not tariffs so much as discriminating tariffs that were the evil; he associated himself with the protest of the Australian delegate against the suggestion that the Economic Conference of

1927 had condemned tariffs as such, and he quoted the report of the Conference to the effect that steps should be taken to remove or diminish those tariff barriers which gravely hampered trade, starting with those which had been imposed to counteract the effects of disturbances arising out of the war; he appreciated that in some countries the word "tariff" might have become synonymous with "high tariff," but in India it was considered that the existing tariff system already conformed to the principles approved by the World Economic Conference; the Indian tariff was primarily a revenue tariff, a tax on consumption and a method of taxation well suited to the conditions of the country; he described the Indian system of discriminating protection and said that the protective duties were few and granted for a period which was ordinarily limited by statute; he regretted in these circumstances that India was unable to support any resolution or to participate in any Conference which would bind her to refrain from increasing her customs duties for a term of years; he was aware that the resolution limited the undertaking to protective tariffs, but any experienced person would admit that in practice it was not easy to distinguish definitely between a revenue and a protective duty; he would not be willing to put India in a position in which she might be accused of increasing a duty for protective purposes under cover of revenue interests, and apart from that India was not prepared to suspend for a term of years her policy of protection, which she considered to be sane and moderate and necessary for the economic welfare of the country; the resolution spoke of the undertaking as a means of creating an atmosphere of confidence, but there was nothing in the tariff policy of India that need disturb the confidence of anyone; he was glad that the Irish delegate's point as to the impolicy of excluding from further developments those who were not able to agree to a tariff truce had been met; it was too early to consider whether India would accept an invitation to take part in the final Conference, but other countries might find that from their own point of view such a Conference might suffer from the enforced absence of a country like India; as a consumer of goods manufactured in Europe India was an important market, and the economic recovery of Europe depended to a large extent on the prosperity, on the increased purchasing power of the vast populations of countries like India; such countries could not pay for imports of manufactured articles from Europe unless they could find a fair market for their exports of agricultural produce; it was therefore necessary that considerations like these should be carefully weighed and that efforts should be made to check any tendency towards raising tariff barriers against agricultural produce, to stabilise agricultural prices and to rationalise the distribution of agricultural produce. The text of Sir G. Corbett's speech will be found in the Appendices.

37. The Japanese delegate associated himself with Sir Geoffrey Corbett's remarks. He went on to ask some pertinent questions which anticipate the difficulties that may arise. What, he asked, would be the criterion for distinguishing between protective and fiscal tariffs? Would the countries which had completed their readjustment to the effects of the war be placed on the same footing as those in which this process was still incomplete? What would be the position in regard to the tariff truce of the overseas colonies of European Powers? How would the League's principle of universality be reconciled with the continental treatment of the problem which the resolution seemed to involve? If the European nations collaborated in the sense of the "United States of Europe" idea, how would those outside such an arrangement stand with regard to their rights under the most-favoured-nation clause? If the latter nations had to adopt measures of defence, would the result be favourable to economic peace?

38. The conclusions which resulted from these discussions represented a compromise which all could accept, but which few, if any, received with enthusiasm. All States are to be invited to say before the end of 1929 whether they desire or not to take part in a Diplomatic Conference with a view to the conclusion of a tariff truce and, if necessary, to the establishment of a programme of subsequent negotiations with a view to the conclusion of collective agreements; when the replies are received the Council is to decide whether such a Conference should be held, and if it is held the date should be as near as possible to the end of January 1930; if this Conference takes place it is to be followed by negotiations for the conclusion of collective agreements between the States which have concluded the tariff truce, who may by common consent invite any other State to take part in the negotiations; finally, there will be a Conference to take note of the results of these negotiations, to examine them and if necessary to supplement them, and all States without distinction will be invited to this Conference.

39. Many other aspects of the work of the Economic Organisations were touched upon in the course of the debate and are covered by the resolutions adopted. As, however, the tariff question overshadowed all others and has necessitated a somewhat extended treatment, we shall not in this Report do more than allude to three other matters, coal, sugar and the satisfaction of agricultural interests.

(b) *Coal.*

40. The Economic Committee had studied the various aspects of the present serious position of the coal industry and for that purpose had organised a meeting of experts on the owners' side and had consulted Labour experts. A joint meeting of both parties was to be

held shortly after the Assembly to discuss the ideas of the Economic Committee in regard to the international aspects of the coal problem. Pending the result of these studies the Second Committee considered that the International Labour Office should be invited to continue the inquiry which it had already undertaken into wages, hours, and general working conditions in the industry. The Assembly accordingly invited the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation to consider the inclusion of these problems in the agenda of the Labour Conference of 1930 with a view to the conclusion of one or more Conventions. Further, it is proposed to hold before the Labour Conference of next year a preparatory Technical Conference of representatives of the Governments, employers, and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, for the purpose of defining the questions which might be included under this heading in the agenda of the next Labour Conference. It is to be noted that although the resolution does not actually restrict the scope of the procedure to European questions, that is in fact the intention, and if that intention is carried out the International Labour Conference of 1930 will be called upon to deal with a European problem. Sir Geoffrey Corbett called attention to the fact that it was proposed to ask a Conference of European experts to define questions which were not explicitly restricted to Europe, and he was assured that the proposed agreement only concerned European countries and that it was not proposed to include India within its scope.

(c) *Sugar.*

41. With the aid of a Committee on which India was represented by Mr. J. N. Gupta, Deputy Trade Commissioner in London, the Economic Organisation has been studying the crisis which has arisen in the sugar industry from over-production. The experts were agreed in recognising that the difficulties had been accentuated by the measures taken in many countries to stimulate the production of sugar without consideration of the effects of their unco-ordinated action on the world situation, but the majority were of opinion that in existing circumstances the conclusion of an international Convention would not be likely to provide a solution. The attention of Governments is being called to the benefits which might result from a lowering of Excise duties. The Economic Committee will continue to follow the subject, and an international Conference will be called if that should appear desirable.

(d) *Agricultural Interests.*

42. The Economic Organisation has so far had little opportunity of studying subjects which primarily affect agricultural interests. Those interests are now calling for more attention. The League is not at present equipped for meeting this demand because of the independent existence of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. The Economic Consultative Committee had made a proposal in favour of the attachment of agricultural experts to the Economic Organisation, but as this proposal was still under the consideration of the Economic Committee the Assembly was not in a position to take any action. The Economic Consultative Committee had also recommended, with reference to the possibility of collective action for the reduction of tariffs by groups of commodities, that if possible the first commodity group to be selected should be one of substantial importance, not only to industry, but also to agriculture; such, for instance, as agricultural implements and machinery. This suggestion also is under the consideration of the Economic Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations :—

1. The Assembly,

(*a*) Has taken note of the results obtained during the discussions of the Economic Consultative Committee and expresses its appreciation of the persevering efforts of that Committee and of the Economic Committee;

(*b*) It is impressed by the importance of taking all possible steps to carry into effect the recommendations of the World Economic Conference of 1927;

(*c*) It considers that no effective action will be possible in the future unless the Governments are now requested to examine in their turn the questions left in suspense by the Consultative Committee and by the Economic Committee, availing themselves of the work accomplished by those Committees to assist them in their decisions;

(*d*) The Assembly therefore recommends that concerted action should be taken under the following conditions by such Members of the League of Nations and non-member States as may desire to participate therein :—

(1) In order that this concerted action may be pursued on a firm basis and in an atmosphere of confidence, the Assembly recommends that States which are prepared to participate therein should agree not to increase their protective tariffs above the present level for a period of from two to three years, or to impose new protective duties or create new impediments to trade. It is understood that this undertaking should not lead to any relaxation in the efforts which States are making to reduce their tariffs to the greatest possible extent by autonomous or bilateral action, in conformity with the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

(2) The Assembly therefore hereby requests Members of the League of Nations and non-member States to intimate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations before 31st December 1929, with or without the name of their representative, whether they are prepared to take part in a preliminary conference of delegates of Governments with a view to the conclusion of the agreement referred to in para. 1 above, and to the establishment, if necessary, of a programme of subsequent negotiations for facilitating economic relations by all practical means and especially by reducing hindrances to trade;

Requests the Council to instruct the Economic Committee to frame, during its next session, the text of a preliminary draft intended to serve as a basis for discussion.

On the basis of the replies received to the above invitation, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide, taking into account the number and character of States having replied in the affirmative, whether the diplomatic Conference referred to in para. 2 should be held;

Invites the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to ensure that this preliminary conference should meet at a date as near as possible to the end of January 1930.

(3) The Assembly recommends that, after the conclusion of the truce, the negotiations referred to in the first paragraph of (2) above should be initiated between the States having concluded the truce. The latter may, by common agreement, invite any other State wishing to do so to take part in these negotiations.

(4) A final diplomatic Conference will take note of the results of the negotiations referred to above, will examine them and will supplement them if necessary.

To this Conference all States without distinction will be invited.

2. The Assembly considers in principle that the adoption of the doctrine laid down by the Economic Committee with regard to tariff systems, contractual methods and the application of the most-favoured-nation clause would do much to improve international economic relations and strongly recommends the conclusions of the Committee to the attention of Governments, whom it invites to submit their observations on this matter as soon as possible to the Council.

3. The Assembly notes that only 13 ratifications have so far been secured for the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, though there is reason to hope that further ratifications may be deposited before the expiry of the time-limit on 30th September. By that date, however, the 18 ratifications required to enable the Convention to come into force will probably not have been obtained. The Assembly once more emphasises the importance of this international instrument and addresses an urgent appeal to all Governments concerned to do all that lies in their power to enable the Convention to come into force on 1st January 1930.

4. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that 17 States have undertaken to put into force on 1st October the two international Arrangements of 11th July 1928 relating to the Export of Hides, Skins and Bones.

5.—(*a*) The Assembly has been informed that an International Conference is to be summoned for 5th November 1929, the basis of its discussions being the draft Convention prepared by the Economic Committee concerning the Treatment of Foreigners and Foreign Undertakings.

It is convinced that the entry into force of an international convention based on this draft would do much to promote international co-operation by ensuring better and more equitable conditions for the establishment and economic activities of the nationals of one country admitted to the territory of another.

The Assembly therefore recommends the Conference to examine the principles of the draft Convention in the most liberal spirit and with the sincere desire to secure the recognition, as regards such establishment and questions connected therewith, of a regime of equity and freedom, excluding entirely all possibility of discrimination as between the treatment of nationals and foreigners, and by providing the latter with every facility for the conduct of their profession or trade.

(*b*) The Assembly also expresses the desire that the Economic Committee should obtain information as soon as possible which would enable the Council to decide whether, in what form and to what extent the problem of the admission of foreigners in its economic aspect might usefully be considered.

6. The Assembly,

Notes that the establishment of a simplified and unified Customs nomenclature is necessary for the conclusion of collective tariff agreements;

Considers that the Committee of Customs Experts should have completed the preparatory work entrusted to it before the meeting of the eleventh session of the Assembly, and that no effort should be spared to obtain this result.

7. The Assembly notes that the Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, opened for the signature of the several States by the Assembly on 26th September 1927, has up to the present been ratified by only five Governments;

It draws the attention of all States which are contracting parties to the Protocol of 1923 on Arbitration Clauses, to the practical interest which they have in also signing and ratifying the 1927 Convention, as the latter supplies an important deficiency in the 1923 Protocol.

8.—(*a*) The Assembly expresses its sincere appreciation of the work performed by the Economic Committee in investigating the causes and effects of the present difficulties confronting the coal industry, and congratulates it upon its illuminating Interim Report which it has already issued.

(*b*) It notes the statement of the Economic Committee in its Interim Report that, "as regards the third of the proposals for international action, that which relates to wages and hours, we will confine ourselves at this stage to saying that action in this field would appear to fall within the competence of the International Labour Office and not that of the Economic Organisation of the League";

It further understands that the International Labour Organisation has been conducting inquiries as to hours, wages, and conditions of work in coal-mines since 1925, and that for several months the Governing Body has had under consideration a request from the Congress of the International Miners' Federation, which met at Nîmes last year, to convene a conference of the principal coal-producing countries with a view to the equalisation and reduction of hours of work;

Owing to the great urgency of the matter, the Assembly is of opinion that the International Labour Organisation should pursue its work without delay, and accordingly invites the Council to request the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider the inclusion in the agenda of the International Labour Conference of 1930 of questions relating to hours, wages, and conditions of work in coal-mines with the object of agreeing upon an international convention or conventions thereon, while in the meantime the Economic Committee will prepare its final report, which, together with the Interim Report, will be available for the Conference referred to in this resolution;

The Assembly further suggests that the Governing Body should consider the advisability of convening at an early date a preparatory technical conference consisting of representatives of the Governments, employers, and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, in order to advise it as to what questions relating to conditions of employment in coal-mines might best be included in the agenda of the International Labour Conference of 1930, with a view to arriving at practical international agreement;

The Assembly invites the Council, on the one hand, to consider the recommendations which the Economic Committee may formulate as a result of the meeting of experts convened for 30th September with regard to the difficulties at present encountered in the coal industry, in particular the fluctuations in price and the existing difference between production and consumers' needs, and, moreover, to consider, taking into account more especially the results of this examination, the expediency of convening a conference of the Governments concerned to study the recommendations in question.

9. The Assembly notes that the Economic Consultative Committee, at its session in May 1928, adopted a proposal for the institution of an inquiry into the sugar industry, and that the Economic Committee made a report to the Council on this subject in July 1929.

It notes also that the Economic Committee, while awaiting the replies of Governments on the question of the possibility of reducing excise duties, is continuing to watch developments in the sugar question so as to be able at any moment to advise the Council whether concerted international action would facilitate the solution of the problems under consideration.

The Assembly accordingly requests the Council to examine such recommendations as the Economic Committee may put forward in regard to the present difficulties in the sugar industry, especially price-fluctuations and the existing disproportion between supply and demand, and to consider, having regard more particularly to the results of the investigation, whether it is desirable or not to summon a meeting of representatives of the Governments concerned to study these recommendations.

10. The Assembly desires to aid as effectively as possible international economic co-operation in so important a sphere as the trade in agricultural products:—

(*a*) It notes with satisfaction the progress made by the Sub-Committee of Experts with regard to veterinary police measures in investigating the guarantees which the countries interested might grant to international commerce, particularly as a result of the organisation of their veterinary services, and the publication of their health bulletins on the lines proposed by the experts and communicated to the Governments.

It expresses the desire that the Sub-Committee's work should be actively pursued with a view to the framing of definite proposals to facilitate the export of cattle and animal products, regard being had to the interests of both exporting and importing countries.

(*b*) It draws attention to the recommendation made in the same sense by the World Economic Conference of 1927 as regards diseases in plants and, while welcoming the conclusion of the International Convention signed in April 1929 under the auspices of the International Institute of Agriculture, trusts that inquiries into the commercial aspect of the problem will be actively pursued.

11.—(*a*) The Assembly notes with satisfaction the conclusion of the Convention of 14th December 1928 on Economic Statistics and hopes that a large number of States will ratify this Convention without delay;

It expresses the hope that effect will be given to recommendation XI adopted by this Conference, and that the list of places of loading and unloading mentioned in this recommendation will be duly prepared and published;

It emphasises the value of the publications of the Economic and Financial Organisations and approves the annual publication of a general survey of the world situation as set out in the "Memorandum on Production and Trade," which is prepared for the Economic Consultative Committee.

(*b*) The Assembly is impressed by the importance of the work of the League in keeping the world informed of the progress of economic events;

It believes that, as a result of the application of the Convention relating to Economic Statistics and the recommendations of the Statistical Conference and of the Economic Consultative Committee on this subject, the provision of improved economic information and, in particular, of more complete statistics relating to industrial production may confidently be expected.

It therefore requests the Council to consider the possibility of arranging for the preparation in the near future of a comprehensive annual survey of economic developments and for the collection by the Economic Organisation of all the information required for this purpose.

(*c*) It expresses its warm appreciation of the generous offer of the Rockefeller Foundation to pay for the preparation and publication of a Collection of Monetary and Central Banking Laws of the World and resolves that this collection be subsequently kept up to date by the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

Work of the Financial Committee.

43. The work of the Financial Committee has fallen into two categories: (1) work which is primarily concerned with particular States, and (2) work of a general character not peculiar to any particular country. The first category embraces the schemes of financial reconstruction and refugee settlement, which have been carried out in Greece and Bulgaria, and financial measures for Austria, Hungary, Danzig, Estonia, and the Saar Territory. No new responsibilities have been accepted under this heading during the past year and the Committee has been to a greater extent occupied with general problems. The most important of these, and one with which India is closely concerned, is the question of the purchasing power of gold. It is essentially a problem for a well-organised and methodical international inquiry, and the League of Nations alone is qualified to contribute materially to its solution. The inquiry has been started and has been entrusted in the first instance to a body consisting of certain members of the Financial Committee and certain other experts; among the latter is

44. One product of the Financial Committee's activities was the subject of detailed examination during the Assembly, namely, the draft Convention on Financial Assistance for States which are the victims of aggression. We shall deal with this in describing the work of the Third Committee. The other aspects of the Financial Committee's work which fell to be dealt with in the Second Committee did not give rise to much discussion, a fact which may be taken as a tribute to its soundness, and we did not find ourselves called upon to say anything.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Takes note of, and expresses its satisfaction with, the work of the Financial Committee ;

Particularly appreciates that the study of the undue fluctuations of the purchasing power of gold has begun, and hopes that this most important work may contribute to the economic well-being of all nations.

(*Resolution adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

Work of the Health Organisation.

45. The work of this Organisation has been consistently distinguished for the facts that it avoids diffusion of effort and concentrates on a limited number of practical problems, and that it is able to achieve a balance between the interests of different parts of the world, between, for example, those of Asia and South America and those of Europe. Its systematic practice is to draw practical conclusions from the comparison of national experiences and to place them at the disposal of Governments. An inquiry into the causes of infant mortality has been carried out in seven countries of Europe and in four of Latin America, and plans are being made for its extension. The Malaria Commission, after inquiries in Europe, North America, and Asia Minor, has formulated a set of principles for directing anti-malarial measures, and it is claimed that these principles have already served as a guide to various Health Administrations. A delegation of this Commission landed in India shortly before the Assembly opened, and it will study the programme and results of the anti-malarial measures adopted in India to the mutual benefit, it is hoped, of India and of many other countries. The accumulation in the Health Organisation of comparative knowledge of the sanitary methods of different countries has led countries which are considering the reorganisation of their health services to apply to the Health Organisation for advice and guidance. Thus the Greek Government invited the Health Committee to submit plans for the establishment of a modern Public Health Service in Greece; the recommendations which resulted have been accepted in their entirety by the Greek Government and legislative sanction has been obtained for the execution of them. Bolivia has now made a similar request, and in response to an invitation of the Chinese Government experts of the Health Organisation are now visiting China to make a survey on port health and maritime quarantine. An inquiry into leprosy is being conducted in Latin America and will be extended to the East later. It is contemplated also that the study of rural hygiene which has been taking place in Europe should be continued in the East.

46. For five years past the Health Organisation has had the assistance of generous financial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, a large part of the cost of the Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore as well as the cost of other activities having been met from this source. The Second Committee learnt with gratification that an agreement had been concluded for a period of five years from the 1st January 1930 for the payment of an annual subsidy by the Rockefeller Foundation equal to the contributions already drawn from this source.

47. Mr. Bajpai, speaking for Sir M. Habibullah, paid a tribute to the work of the Health Organisation and to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, and he said that special gratitude was due to the latter from Asiatic countries because of the growing importance of the Singapore Bureau. He said that the Organisation could not legitimately be expected to work within any rigid financial limits, and if its activities were to grow it seemed impossible that its budget should remain stationary; at the same time, development must not be too rapid, and should be based on proposals which benefited all the States Members and which were important from the humanitarian point of view as well as from that of practical science; India did not grudge the assistance which was being given to countries in Europe and in Latin America, but the East with its huge populations and its deadly epidemics should not be neglected. He proposed that the Health Committee at its next meeting should endeavour to formulate a programme of work for a period of three to five years, together with an estimate of expenditure, and that this programme and estimate should be circulated in time for consideration at the next Assembly; Government should be asked to submit suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee in order that the task of framing a comprehensive and well-thought-out scheme might be facilitated. He thought it would be desirable if the Health Organisation could arrange, by means of the interchange system, for the exchange between sanitary experts of the Near East and of the Middle and Far East of knowledge in regard to health problems in rural and industrial areas under conditions broadly analogous. He also thought that it would be useful if facilities could be provided for health officers from the East to study special problems, such as that of water supply, in the more advanced western countries where these elementary but essential matters have been perfected.

48. The Assembly of 1925 had fixed the amount to be included in the budget of the League for the support of the Health Organisation at one million francs. Since then the work has grown and in particular has extended more and more to the countries outside Europe, an extension which, on account of travelling expenses, is costly.

49. The Second Committee took the view that without some increase of this maximum it would not be possible to continue to satisfy the requests for assistance submitted by non-European Members of the League, and in support of this view a passage included, on the motion of the Indian Delegation, in the Resolution of the Assembly of 1928, which congratulated the Health Organisation on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries, was quoted. As we shall have occasion to mention later, the Fourth Committee approved the grant of additional credits for work in Latin America and in the Far East.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Notes with satisfaction the results achieved by the policy which the Health Organisation has persistently followed of concentrating on certain well-defined branches of international public health ;

Notes, in particular, that the Health Organisation systematically draws practical conclusions from the comparison of national experiences and places those conclusions at the disposal of Governments ;

Desires to express its appreciation to the health administrations of the different countries as well as to the members of the Health Committee and to the experts who have contributed to this work ;

Considers that the Health Organisation is pursuing, from an international point of view, a work of great importance, by co-operating and consulting with national health administrations in the different continents ;

Approves the work carried out by the Health Organisation since the last Assembly ;

Takes note of the work of the Health Organisation in Latin America and in the Far East, which necessitates the provision of supplementary credits ;

Approves the budget estimates relating thereto which have been placed before it. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September* 1929.)

Intellectual Co-operation.

50. Our predecessors in 1928 reported that there was a feeling that the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation at Paris was in danger of diffusing its energies and that the Committee had decided to take stock of its work and to review the programme of the Institute so that efforts might be concentrated on essential tasks and the administrative or bureaucratic element might be reduced to a minimum. It had only been possible to carry out the preliminary stages of this review during the year preceding the Assembly of 1929. Largely as a result of criticisms expressed at a meeting of representatives of National Committees held this summer shortly before the meeting of the International Committee, the latter body decided to proceed without delay with a general survey of the situation, and for that purpose to constitute a Committee of Inquiry composed principally of its own members, but with the addition of a few other qualified persons. The duty of this Committee of Inquiry will be to examine all the opinions expressed and the suggestions made and to make proposals for improvements in the programme of the work of the Organisation with a view to increasing its positive results. The Report adopted by the Second Committee on this subject said that there was reason to fear that in the zeal aroused by the enormous interest of the subject more work was undertaken than it was possible to carry through, and that a systematic revision of all the work in progress was advisable. The Assembly approved the suggestion for a Committee of Inquiry, and expressed the view that its work might be of great value both to the work of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation (a body directly supported by the League) and to the work of the Institute at Paris (which is supported by the French and certain other contributing Governments).

51. Mr. Bajpai, speaking in the Second Committee for Sir M. Habibullah on this subject, welcomed the proposed Committee of Inquiry for the reason that diffusion of activity was likely to defeat the object for which the movement was started ; India was anxious to make the movement a success, and as a country with an ancient literature and a remarkable system of philosophy she naturally welcomed a movement which sought to lay the foundations of a cultural synthesis ; he expressed a doubt whether it was proper for the League to meet the entire cost of the Committee of Inquiry seeing that it had been expressly provided that the League should have no financial responsibility for the Institute at Paris, the conduct of which was a considerable part of the subject to be examined, and he suggested that it would be possible and reasonable to suspend some of the less important activities of the Institute so as to provide funds for the inquiry ; he also questioned the demand for a supplementary credit for the purpose of translating a pamphlet on the aims and objects of the League into languages other than the two official League languages ; he thought that if the principle were adopted it would be difficult to set a limit to its application and that a country which really desired such a translation and intended to use it would be prepared to meet the small cost involved. Finally, Mr. Bajpai stated that the authorities in India were hoping shortly to convene a Conference which might result in the setting up of a National Committee for Intellectual Co-operation in India.

52. Other facts which we would select for mention under this heading are (1) that the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, which is mainly supported by the French Government, is now receiving grants from 19 States, whose total contributions amount to 3,260,800 French francs; (2) that the Sub-Committee of experts for the instruction of young people in the aims of the League, which submitted a valuable Report in 1927, will meet again in 1930; and (3) that the Assembly received and approved the First Report of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute established in 1928 at Rome by the generosity of the Italian Government, on the Governing Body and Executive Committee of which India is represented by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly has taken note with satisfaction of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the Governing Body of the Institute.

It notes with pleasure that a number of new countries, in accordance with the recommendations of former years, have followed the example of Governments which had already granted subsidies towards the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. This brings the number of States making grants to the Institute to 19 and the total annual receipts to 3,260,800 French francs.

The Assembly is gratified at the results obtained by the meeting of the representatives of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and hopes that these meetings will be held periodically.

The Assembly has learnt with interest of the proposal to institute a Committee of Inquiry, as suggested by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and already agreed to by the Council. The Assembly in turn approves that proposal and thinks that the work of this Committee may be of great value both to the programme work and organisation of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Assembly is gratified at the great interest shown by States Members of the League of Nations in the question of the instruction of youth in the aims of the League.

It congratulates the Secretary-General on the handbook he has published with the aid of qualified experts on "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" and requests him to take all the necessary steps to furnish the Governments interested with as many copies of this pamphlet as they may require, and with the translations necessary to the teaching staff.

The Assembly considers the publication of the "Educational Survey" an essential complement to the work of the Secretariat in making known to the younger generation the aims and work of the League.

It approves the convening in 1930 of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations.

The Assembly, in view of the great importance of the efforts made by young people to establish closer international co-operation, requests the Governments of all the States to give the greatest possible support to these efforts, which encourage friendly relations between peoples.

The Assembly takes note of the report submitted by the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute and expresses its interest in the work done by the Institute in collecting information and placing it at the disposal of all concerned.

It congratulates the Institute on the publication of the "International Review of Educational Cinematography." (*Resolutions adopted on 21st September* 1929.)

Communications and Transit.

53. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly has reviewed the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit carried out between the ninth and tenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly.

It is gratified to find that, thanks to the work done during the last years by the Advisory and Technical Committee, a Conference can be summoned in 1930 for the Unification of certain parts of River Law in Europe and also a Conference of Maritime Countries for the Unification of Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts. It trusts that, as a result of these Conferences, navigation facilities will be increased.

The Assembly attaches particular importance to the meeting of the special Committee to inquire into questions of civil air navigation which the Advisory and Technical Committee proposes to hold early in 1930 for the purpose of ensuring the closest co-operation between the civil aviation undertakings of the various countries.

It notes the great interest taken by the economic circles of various countries in the studies undertaken regarding the simplification of the calendar, and also the establishment of national committees to inquire into this question. The Advisory and Technical Committee is requested to place on the agenda of the Fourth General Conference on Communications and Transit the consideration of any recommendations which might be made as a result of these inquiries. (*Resolutions adopted on 21st September* 1929.)

COMMITTEE III.—Reduction of Armaments.

Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

54. The Preparatory Commission had had a meeting in April 1929 and had reviewed certain parts of the text of the draft Convention on Disarmament drawn up in 1927, which in important passages contained two or three alternative proposals and various reservations. This meeting had resulted in a greater measure of agreement but at the cost of the effectiveness of the draft Convention. In two crucial matters, (1) the treatment of trained reserves and (2) the limitation of material, a large majority of the Commission had agreed (1) that trained reserves should be excluded from limitation, and (2) that neither the direct method of limitation of material by categories nor the indirect method of limitation by limitation of expenditure should be adopted, and that it was not possible to do more than seek a partial

measure of supervision over stocks of material by means of publicity in regard to expenditure. But the decisions on these points had not been unanimous, and in particular the representative of Germany had dissociated himself from the conclusions of the majority and had intimated that Germany would seek to reopen these decisions elsewhere and particularly at the Conference itself when it was held.

55. Lord Cecil, on behalf of the British Delegation, submitted to the Third Committee a draft resolution which asked the Preparatory Commission in completing its draft Convention to consider how far the following principles had been or ought to be adopted: (*a*) the application of the same principles to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material whether in land, sea or air forces; (*b*) the limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training, or both; (*c*) the limitation of material, either directly by enumeration, or indirectly by budgetary limitation, or by both methods; (*d*) the recognition of a competent international authority to watch and report upon the execution of the treaty. The adoption of this resolution would have definitely had the effect of reopening the decision of the Preparatory Commission at its last meeting in regard to the limitation of material. Lord Cecil argued that the limitation of material was of absolute importance to any effective measure of disarmament, and he said that unless material was limited nothing effective would be done in the way of disarmament. There was some doubt as to the extent to which the resolution, if adopted, would have reopened other decisions of the Preparatory Commission. The Chairman of the Preparatory Commission stated that the Commission's existing programme already provided for the further consideration of points (*a*), (*b*) and (*d*), and Lord Cecil himself disclaimed the intentions attributed to him with regard to trained reserves. Lord Cecil's proposal, while receiving a considerable amount of support, was also strongly opposed. It was generally agreed to be undesirable that a vote should be taken and a cleavage of opinion confirmed. The Third Committee eventually adopted a resolution which took note of the statements made in regard to the principles in question, noted further that the solution of the disarmament problem could be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals which they preferred, and decided that the minutes of the discussions at this Assembly should be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. This compromise was designed to permit the various views expressed in the Third Committee to be reiterated and expounded before the Preparatory Commission without at the same time committing the parties who supported the conclusions of the Preparatory Commission to any abandonment of their attitude. Lord Cecil declared that the resolution did not preclude him from raising the questions which he wished to raise and that he would raise them if he attented the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having taken cognisance with interest of the work of the last session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

Cordially welcoming the prospect of an early agreement between the naval Powers with a view to the reduction and limitation of naval armaments, which agreement may enable the Preparatory Commission to secure general agreement on the methods to be adopted for the reduction and limitation of naval armaments;

Taking note of the statements made in the Third Committee with regard to the principles on which, in the opinion of various delegations, the final work of the Preparatory Commission should be based;

Noting that the solution of the disarmament problem can be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals they prefer;

Urging, in accordance with its resolution of 1928, "the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible";

Confidently hopes that the Preparatory Commission will shortly be able to resume the work interrupted at its last session, with a view to framing a preliminary draft Convention as soon as possible for the reduction and limitation of land, naval and air armaments;

Decides that the Minutes of the plenary meetings of the Assembly and of the Third Committee shall be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Manufacture of Arms.

56. A Special Committee has for some years been trying to draw up a draft Convention for the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and for publicity in regard to State manufacture. It has been found that the supervision of private manufacture, for which provision is made in Article 8 of the Covenant, cannot be dealt with separately from publicity of State manufacture, as otherwise producing and non-producing countries would not be placed upon an equal footing. But certain countries have found themselves unable to come to an agreement as to the means of securing publicity for State manufacture until the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has reached agreement in regard to publicity of war material. In these circumstances the Assembly definitely concluded that it was inevitable to postpone the completion of the Special Committee's work until the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference had reached a conclusion on the relevant part of its subject-matter.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly has taken cognisance of the documents forwarded to it by the Council on the work of the Special Commission responsible for framing a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

It recognises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission.

The Assembly considers that the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture—the only manufacture referred to in Article 8 of the Covenant—in conjunction with the publicity, to be defined later, of State manufactures, which would place non-producing countries and producing countries on the same footing, would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War dated 17th June 1925, Geneva.

It notes, however, that certain reservations have been made in respect of the draft Convention and that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity of war material.

The Assembly therefore requests the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work in connection with the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Financial Assistance.

57. Our predecessors have described the origin and preparation of the scheme for giving financial assistance to States which may be the victims of aggression. The general idea is that of strengthening the credit of a victim State which finds itself in financial need by the support of other States in the flotation of a loan; the victim State will obtain credits in the money market in the ordinary way, and will contract a loan on the security of its general revenues, but this security will have the support of an international guarantee and the money will therefore be forthcoming more readily and on easier terms; it is believed that the obligations which contracting States may thus incur are likely to prove less onerous than the execution of the obligations which might fall upon them under the general terms of Article 16 of the Covenant. Since the last Assembly the Financial Committee had drawn up the text of a draft Convention which was brought before this Assembly in the hope that after discussion and any necessary modification it might be adopted and opened for signature.

58. However, a number of difficult points arose, some of a political and others of a financial character, and it soon became apparent that it would be impossible for the Assembly this year to adopt a final text. The Assembly therefore decided that the Committee on Arbitration and Security should be asked to revise the text in co-operation with the Financial Committee, and that the revised text, after being communicated to Governments, should be submitted for the approval either of a special Conference or at the latest for that of the next Assembly. It would not be easy to summarise briefly the points of difference which arose and the most serious of which depend upon the difficulty of defining who is the aggressor; we would simply refer to the report of the Third Committee on this subject, which will be reprinted with the final edition of this Report.

59. Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received, Sir Muhammad Habibullah explained that from her geographical position India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but that, being a civilised country, she felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world, and that it was from that point of view only that his Government might be prepared to accept the draft Convention; the scheme would have to be placed before the Indian Legislature before the Government of India could express its consent, and it would have to be clear that India would not be called upon to act as a special guarantor but only as an ordinary guarantor; in view of the fact that India hoped for a reduction of her quota of contribution to the League, Sir Muhammad observed that it would only be possible for India to enter the scheme on the understanding that any liability she might have to assume would be based, not upon her contribution at the time of entry into force of the Convention, but on her contribution at the time the liability arose. The Government of India would have to justify to the Legislature any proposal to give assent to the Convention, and for this purpose it would be necessary to know what other countries had accepted it; unless and until the Indian Legislature and the Government of India felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the Great Powers, but by countries representative of the world as a whole, whose participation would be a guarantee of its effective use, India would see no object in signing the Convention or in incurring financial liability in connection with it.

60. When the Committee came to discuss Article 6 of the draft Convention, which provides for the manner in which the guarantees are to be distributed among the signatories, Sir Ewart Greaves reminded the Committee of Sir Muhammad Habibullah's statement that India would not be prepared to accept liability on the basis of her present share in the expenses of the League; he said that an amendment had been prepared to provide for the replacement of the future scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League when adopted in place of the present scale in Article 6, but that it would meet India's case if it were generally agreed to provide for her exceptionally on these lines in a Protocol as had been

measure of supervision over stocks of material by means of publicity in regard to expenditure. But the decisions on these points had not been unanimous, and in particular the representative of Germany had dissociated himself from the conclusions of the majority and had intimated that Germany would seek to reopen these decisions elsewhere and particularly at the Conference itself when it was held.

55. Lord Cecil, on behalf of the British Delegation, submitted to the Third Committee a draft resolution which asked the Preparatory Commission in completing its draft Convention to consider how far the following principles had been or ought to be adopted: (*a*) the application of the same principles to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material whether in land, sea or air forces; (*b*) the limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training, or both; (*c*) the limitation of material, either directly by enumeration, or indirectly by budgetary limitation, or by both methods; (*d*) the recognition of a competent international authority to watch and report upon the execution of the treaty. The adoption of this resolution would have definitely had the effect of reopening the decision of the Preparatory Commission at its last meeting in regard to the limitation of material. Lord Cecil argued that the limitation of material was of absolute importance to any effective measure of disarmament, and he said that unless material was limited nothing effective would be done in the way of disarmament. There was some doubt as to the extent to which the resolution, if adopted, would have reopened other decisions of the Preparatory Commission. The Chairman of the Preparatory Commission stated that the Commission's existing programme already provided for the further consideration of points (*a*), (*b*) and (*d*), and Lord Cecil himself disclaimed the intentions attributed to him with regard to trained reserves. Lord Cecil's proposal, while receiving a considerable amount of support, was also strongly opposed. It was generally agreed to be undesirable that a vote should be taken and a cleavage of opinion confirmed. The Third Committee eventually adopted a resolution which took note of the statements made in regard to the principles in question, noted further that the solution of the disarmament problem could be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals which they preferred, and decided that the minutes of the discussions at this Assembly should be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. This compromise was designed to permit the various views expressed in the Third Committee to be reiterated and expounded before the Preparatory Commission without at the same time committing the parties who supported the conclusions of the Preparatory Commission to any abandonment of their attitude. Lord Cecil declared that the resolution did not preclude him from raising the questions which he wished to raise and that he would raise them if he attented the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having taken cognisance with interest of the work of the last session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

Cordially welcoming the prospect of an early agreement between the naval Powers with a view to the reduction and limitation of naval armaments, which agreement may enable the Preparatory Commission to secure general agreement on the methods to be adopted for the reduction and limitation of naval armaments;

Taking note of the statements made in the Third Committee with regard to the principles on which, in the opinion of various delegations, the final work of the Preparatory Commission should be based;

Noting that the solution of the disarmament problem can be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals they prefer;

Urging, in accordance with its resolution of 1928, "the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible";

Confidently hopes that the Preparatory Commission will shortly be able to resume the work interrupted at its last session, with a view to framing a preliminary draft Convention as soon as possible for the reduction and limitation of land, naval and air armaments;

Decides that the Minutes of the plenary meetings of the Assembly and of the Third Committee shall be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Manufacture of Arms.

56. A Special Committee has for some years been trying to draw up a draft Convention for the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and for publicity in regard to State manufacture. It has been found that the supervision of private manufacture, for which provision is made in Article 8 of the Covenant, cannot be dealt with separately from publicity of State manufacture, as otherwise producing and non-producing countries would not be placed upon an equal footing. But certain countries have found themselves unable to come to an agreement as to the means of securing publicity for State manufacture until the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has reached agreement in regard to publicity of war material. In these circumstances the Assembly definitely concluded that it was inevitable to postpone the completion of the Special Committee's work until the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference had reached a conclusion on the relevant part of its subject-matter.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly has taken cognisance of the documents forwarded to it by the Council on the work of the Special Commission responsible for framing a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

It recognises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission.

The Assembly considers that the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture—the only manufacture referred to in Article 8 of the Covenant—in conjunction with the publicity, to be defined later, of State manufactures, which would place non-producing countries and producing countries on the same footing, would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War dated 17th June 1925, Geneva.

It notes, however, that certain reservations have been made in respect of the draft Convention and that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity of war material.

The Assembly therefore requests the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work in connection with the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Financial Assistance.

57. Our predecessors have described the origin and preparation of the scheme for giving financial assistance to States which may be the victims of aggression. The general idea is that of strengthening the credit of a victim State which finds itself in financial need by the support of other States in the flotation of a loan; the victim State will obtain credits in the money market in the ordinary way, and will contract a loan on the security of its general revenues, but this security will have the support of an international guarantee and the money will therefore be forthcoming more readily and on easier terms; it is believed that the obligations which contracting States may thus incur are likely to prove less onerous than the execution of the obligations which might fall upon them under the general terms of Article 16 of the Covenant. Since the last Assembly the Financial Committee had drawn up the text of a draft Convention which was brought before this Assembly in the hope that after discussion and any necessary modification it might be adopted and opened for signature.

58. However, a number of difficult points arose, some of a political and others of a financial character, and it soon became apparent that it would be impossible for the Assembly this year to adopt a final text. The Assembly therefore decided that the Committee on Arbitration and Security should be asked to revise the text in co-operation with the Financial Committee, and that the revised text, after being communicated to Governments, should be submitted for the approval either of a special Conference or at the latest for that of the next Assembly. It would not be easy to summarise briefly the points of difference which arose and the most serious of which depend upon the difficulty of defining who is the aggressor; we would simply refer to the report of the Third Committee on this subject, which will be reprinted with the final edition of this Report.

59. Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received, Sir Muhammad Habibullah explained that from her geographical position India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but that, being a civilised country, she felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world, and that it was from that point of view only that his Government might be prepared to accept the draft Convention; the scheme would have to be placed before the Indian Legislature before the Government of India could express its consent, and it would have to be clear that India would not be called upon to act as a special guarantor but only as an ordinary guarantor; in view of the fact that India hoped for a reduction of her quota of contribution to the League, Sir Muhammad observed that it would only be possible for India to enter the scheme on the understanding that any liability she might have to assume would be based, not upon her contribution at the time of entry into force of the Convention, but on her contribution at the time the liability arose. The Government of India would have to justify to the Legislature any proposal to give assent to the Convention, and for this purpose it would be necessary to know what other countries had accepted it; unless and until the Indian Legislature and the Government of India felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the Great Powers, but by countries representative of the world as a whole, whose participation would be a guarantee of its effective use, India would see no object in signing the Convention or in incurring financial liability in connection with it.

60. When the Committee came to discuss Article 6 of the draft Convention, which provides for the manner in which the guarantees are to be distributed among the signatories, Sir Ewart Greaves reminded the Committee of Sir Muhammad Habibullah's statement that India would not be prepared to accept liability on the basis of her present share in the expenses of the League; he said that an amendment had been prepared to provide for the replacement of the future scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League when adopted in place of the present scale in Article 6, but that it would meet India's case if it were generally agreed to provide for her exceptionally on these lines in a Protocol as had been

suggested by Sir Henry Strakosch, a Member of the Financial Committee particularly concerned with the preparation of the draft. It was agreed that this, with other points of a financial character, should be referred to the Financial Committee for further consideration.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having examined the draft Convention on Financial Assistance drawn up by the Financial Committee ;

Noting that the determination of the cases in which this assistance could or should be granted is in close relation with the general problem of the definition of the aggressor, and with that of the means of preventing war, and that the connection between financial assistance and the reduction and limitation of armaments has been recognised and should be thoroughly examined ;

Taking into consideration the various amendments which have been submitted, several of which necessitate adjustment in the technical machinery of the plan of assistance, whereas others are of a political character :

Requests the Council to take steps to ensure the early establishment of a complete text capable of being submitted to States for signature at the earliest possible date.

It accordingly suggests that the Council should instruct the Committee on Arbitration and Security to draw up this text in co-operation with the Financial Committee. The text would, after it had been communicated to the Governments, be submitted for the approval either of a special conference or at the latest for that of the next Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

League Wireless Station.

61. Our predecessors have described the alternative proposals which were being prepared to provide the League with means of communicating as widely as possible by wireless telegraphy. The primary object is to enable the organs of the League to function in time of crisis without risk of its communications being interrupted ; but it is also contemplated that the wireless station should have a secondary utility in time of peace. The alternatives were (1) that the League should itself erect, own and work a station, and (2) that the League should make arrangements with the Radio-Suisse Company, which has already erected a medium-wave station near Geneva, for the addition to this station of a short-wave unit for which the League would pay, but which would be operated for the League by the Radio-Suisse Company in time of peace on condition that the whole station would be handed over to the League for operation in time of crisis. There was a further possibility that the League should depend entirely upon the Radio-Suisse station both for normal times and in time of crisis ; but though this would have been much the simplest and cheapest plan it was held not to provide the League with the assurance of independent communications in time of crisis and was therefore generally regarded as failing to satisfy the primary requirements of the situation.

62. We were instructed to oppose the first of the two alternatives enumerated above on the grounds that a station owned and operated by the League would be unnecessarily expensive and would be less efficient than a commercially operated station because of the inadequate amount of traffic that would normally be available for it. We were also instructed to raise doubts as to the practical advantages to be secured by the addition of a short-wave station to the Radio-Suisse medium-wave station. The short-wave station is intended chiefly for communication with countries outside Europe, and though it was maintained on authoritative grounds that communication between Geneva and a large number of distant countries would be technically possible it did not appear to have been clearly established that a practical system of direct communication with distant countries would in fact become operative to any large extent. It seemed to us possible that for the present communications with distant countries could be established with more reliability if messages from Geneva were sent to one of the main European countries and relaid by the established wireless channels. When the matter came before the Third Committee, Mr. Raza Ali explained the views which we had been instructed to put forward and urged the Committee not to decide upon a costly project which would involve a considerable addition to the already heavy expenditure borne by India on account of the League without fully measuring the relative value of the results to be secured and the possibility of utilising as far as possible means of communication which already existed. In view of the financial bearings of the scheme the Third Committee decided to refer it to the Fourth Committee, which agreed to set up a Joint Sub-Committee consisting of members of the Third and Fourth Committees ; we were represented on this Sub-Committee by Sir Chunilal Mehta. The Sub-Committee, whose conclusions were eventually approved, rejected the alternative of a station owned and operated by the League and decided in favour of the much less costly second alternative, namely, a station to consist of both medium- and short-wave units, the latter being provided by the League, to be operated in normal times by the Radio-Suisse Company and handed over to the League in times of crisis. We failed, however, to secure any direction for the further examination of the short-wave part of the project in its practical aspects, as the general sentiment was strongly in favour of an arrangement which was designed to place the League in direct communication with the distant no less than with the nearer States Members, even though there might still be room for doubt as to its practical effectiveness.

63. The annual cost of the scheme adopted, covering both capital and recurrent expenditure, is estimated at £8,000 a year net; but this estimate is provisional and will receive further attention from the Supervisory Commission. The only sum included in the 1930 Budget for this scheme is 50,000 francs, which will be spent on the drawing up of specifications and the examination of tenders.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Desiring that the League of Nations should have means at its disposal, and under its direct management, at any rate in times of crisis, for independent radio-telegraphic communication with as many Members of the League as possible;

Being desirous of facilitating at all times relations between the League of Nations and its Members, more particularly those at a distance from the seat of the League;

Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the provision, as early as possible, of a radio-telegraphic station, comprising in any case a post with a world-wide radius so far as this may be technically possible, in conformity with the proposals submitted to the Assembly by the Communications and Transit Committee.

The Swiss Government can be represented at this station, in times of emergency, by an observer, whose duties would be as laid down in the Council's resolution of 9th March 1929.

The Assembly declares that the use of this station by the League of Nations in times of emergency can in no case be invoked against Switzerland as affecting her international responsibility. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Model Treaty.

64. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Recognising the importance of the model Treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war approved by the Assembly at its ninth session;

Convinced that the maintenance of peace would be facilitated by the acceptance by as many States as possible of obligations of the kind contained in that Treaty;

Invites the Council to request the Committee on Arbitration and Security to consider the possibility of establishing a draft General Convention on the general lines of the Treaty, which could be referred to the Governments in time to enable the latter to indicate, at the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly, whether they are prepared to accept it. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Communications affecting the Working of the League at Times of Emergency.

65. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly has noted the work undertaken by the International Air Navigation Commission with regard to the juridical status of aircraft utilised to ensure air communications of importance to the working of the League of Nations, and the facilities to be granted to these aircraft.

It trusts that this work will be completed as soon as possible, in order that the results may be submitted for the examination of Governments.

The Assembly accordingly requests the Council, as soon as the work of the International Air Navigation Commission is finished, to have a study made, possibly by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, of the requisite measures to ensure that aircraft engaged in transport of importance to the working of the League of Nations may be free in times of emergency to fly in such a way and over such territory as may be necessary for the carrying out of their mission, the Secretariat and the Governments having come to an agreement beforehand as to the rules to be observed and the normal routes to be followed, and as to any departures therefrom. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

COMMITTEE IV.—Budget and Financial Questions.

Budget for 1930.

66. Our predecessors dealt emphatically and at some length with the increase in the expenditure of the League which was approved last year. This increase amounted to 1,692,463 francs above the estimates approved for the year 1928. The estimates for 1930 as originally drawn up showed an increase of 398,680 francs above those sanctioned for 1929. This increase was nearly all accounted for by increments of salary and other requirements of an inevitable nature, and we were instructed that these estimates did not call for any substantial criticism.

67. In accordance with amendments of the Financial Regulations approved in 1928, to which reference is made hereafter, a supplementary budget had been drawn up and circulated before the Assembly opened. This involved a net addition of 420,208 francs to the figure already mentioned. Most of this was also unavoidable, but we had instructions to give close attention to certain items. As a result of subsequent proceedings in connection with this supplementary budget reductions were made to the extent of 158,000 francs. Reductions were also made in the original estimates amounting to 65,000 francs.

68. Up to this point the position could be regarded from our point of view with satisfaction. But the great activity which prevailed generally this year in the Assembly resulted in the presentation of demands for supplementary credits amounting to 782,742 francs. Some of these new credits were, in our opinion, of doubtful necessity.

69. The Assembly of 1928 had approved certain amendments of the Financial Regulations which were designed to introduce more regularity in the financial procedure of the Assembly, and to prevent the adoption of proposals involving expenditure after a hurried and inadequate examination from the financial point of view. These amendments provided that proposals involving new expenditure should be communicated to the Secretary-General at least one month before the opening of the session, in order that he might circulate a supplementary budget, that proposals received later than one month before the opening of the session should be adjourned to the next session unless the Assembly by two-thirds majority decided otherwise, and finally, that all such proposals should be ready for the consideration of the Supervisory Commission within 15 days of the opening of the session. In the mood prevailing this year these rules were found too restrictive, and doubts were suggested as to their meaning and applicability. They were first disregarded by inadvertence, then modified to suit the occasion, and finally suspended in their entirety and referred to the Supervisory Commission for revision. The Fourth Committee stated in its report to the Assembly that the end-of-session difficulties which had arisen annually for some years had been found more serious than ever during the Tenth Assembly.

70. The long and detailed report of the Supervisory Commission on the proposals involving new expenditure which had been submitted during the course of the Assembly and on other matters reached the Delegation only an hour before it was due to be discussed in the Fourth Committee. In this report the Supervisory Commission stated with regret that in many of the questions dealt with it had been unable to formulate or to sift estimates of expenditure with the care which in all ordinary circumstances it endeavoured to devote to its work; the conditions of work had been wholly exceptional; most of the proposals had reached the Commission at the eleventh hour with insufficient material for financial examination in detail; several of them had been communicated to the Commission informally or even orally; much of the estimating had therefore been necessarily superficial, and it had been wholly impossible to form or to submit to the Fourth Committee any general survey of the financial position, or of the effect of the proposals upon the equilibrium of the budget.

71. In these circumstances it appeared necessary to attempt to obtain further time for consideration. Sir Chunilal Mehta, in the course of a speech in which he quoted the concluding passage of the Supervisory Commission's report to which we have referred and dwelt upon the impropriety of an inadequate financial procedure, supported a proposal made by the Norwegian delegate for a postponement of the consideration of the Supervisory Commission's report. Many members of the Committee appeared to be dissatisfied with the procedure, but on the whole the desire not to prolong the session of the Assembly prevailed. These credits were accordingly approved with the addition of one credit which the Supervisory Commission had proposed to reject.

72. The most important of the items which resulted from new proposals submitted during the Assembly were:—

	Francs.
Improvement of conditions for the meetings of the Assembly	50,000
Health work in Latin America	100,000
Health work in the East	150,000
Committee on Organisation of the Secretariat, &c.	50,000
Economic Organisation, mostly for tariff questions	120,000
Social Section for Drug Conference and temporary additional staff	55,000
Conference on Financial Assistance	50,000
Printing and translation of handbook on work of the League	33,000
Meeting of Experts for Codification of International Law	31,900
Work on behalf of refugees	35,800
Committee on amendments to the Covenant	25,000
Committee on Ratification of Conventions	12,000
I.L.O. for coal questions	42,000

73. In all, the financial effect of action taken during the Assembly was a net addition to the estimates for 1930 of 559,742 francs, and the total budget approved for 1930 stands at 28,210,248 francs, as compared with 27,026,280 francs, an increase of 1,183,968 francs. The net contribution of India for 1930 will be approximately £61,300, an increase of almost £4,250.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

(1) The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the Audited Accounts of the League of Nations for the tenth financial period, ending on 31st December 1928.

(2) The Assembly,

In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes, for the financial period 1930, the general Budget of the League of Nations—of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice—amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 28,210,248 gold francs;

And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

(3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted for its consideration, except in so far as the said conclusions have not been adopted by the Fourth Committee as regards the question of the future organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees and the expenditure involved in incorporating this department in the Secretariat.

(4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

The Assembly calls the attention of all States Members to the resolution voted by the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on 25th September 1928, requesting the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to submit to the Assembly at its ordinary session of 1932 a revised scale of allocation which will be based on the budget estimates of the various States Members for 1930 (1930-1), and urgently requests all States Members to forward regularly to the Secretariat their budget estimates and closed accounts for each financial period as soon as they are published. It draws particular attention to the importance of supplying the budgetary documents for the financial year 1930 (1930-1), without which the Allocation Committee cannot resume its inquiries.

The Assembly requests the Council to authorise the Secretary-General to communicate the reports of Advisory Committees to all the Members of the League at the same time as they are communicated to the Members of the Council, except in cases where the Committee concerned is opposed to such a course. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September* 1929.)

Transfer of Conference from Geneva to Paris.

74. The Fourth Committee also approved an item of additional expenditure during the current year to which we strongly objected. A Conference was due to be held on the draft Convention for the Treatment of Foreigners in November, and provision had been made in the budget for the current year on the understanding that in accordance with the regular practice it would be held in Geneva. Representatives of the South American States proposed, presumably for reasons of their own convenience, that the venue of the Conference should be transferred to Paris. This involved relatively heavy additional expenditure because of the cost of transferring the League staff to Paris and maintaining it there. Many members of the Committee disliked the proposal, but eventually it was approved by 24 votes to 7, with a large number of abstentions, and the Secretary-General was authorised to transfer to the item in question 70,000 francs from the credit for the Disarmament Conference, which will not be drawn upon during the current year. This is, in our view, a most undesirable precedent, any extension of which should be strongly resisted.

High Commissariat for Refugees.

75. Hitherto the High Commissariat for Refugees and its staff have occupied a somewhat indefinite and anomalous position. This Organisation has operated under the auspices of the League but not as an integral part of its machinery. Until last year it had for some time been associated with the International Labour Organisation, but the Assembly of 1928 had decided that it should be linked up with the Secretariat and had created an Advisory Commission in connection with it. The Advisory Commission at its first meeting had projected a term of 10 years' activity for the Organisation and had recommended that the staff should be incorporated in the Secretariat. The Supervisory Commission had recommended that 10 years should be fixed as the limit for the existence of the Organisation and that its liabilities should be gradually liquidated; it had also raised objection to the incorporation of the staff in the Secretariat. Although there was general agreement in the Fourth Committee as to the duration of the work of the High Commissariat, it was found difficult to reconcile the conflicting proposals as to the status of the staff and the responsibility for its operations. It was eventually agreed that the central services of the High Commissariat should for one year and as an experiment be placed under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General, that during this period the financial operations of the Organisation should be supervised by the League in accordance with the Financial Regulations, and that this provisional arrangement should not in any way affect the status of the staff. This solution led to a request for an additional credit of 35,850 francs, which the Supervisory Commission thought should be met out of funds already at the disposal of the High Commissioner whether drawn from the League budget or otherwise available, but the Fourth Committee, by a majority vote, decided to approve an appropriation of the amount mentioned.

Travelling Expenses of Assembly Delegates.

76. As the result of a suggestion made in 1928 the Supervisory Commission had drawn up an estimate to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates of each Member of the League from their country to Geneva and back. This estimate amounted to 430,000 francs. Certain members of the Committee were in favour of including a credit in the budget on this account, but the Committee decided to suspend any decision until a definite proposal had been made by a Government.

Organisation of the Secretariat, &c.

77. Questions relating to the status, method of appointment and conditions of service of the League staff had received considerable attention at the Assembly of 1928, and that Assembly had instructed the competent officials of the League Organisations to review the

existing situation and to submit the results, together with any proposals which they might consider desirable for the amendment of the staff regulations, to the Supervisory Commission in order that the subject might be further considered at the Assembly of 1929. The preliminary work had taken longer than was originally expected and the Supervisory Commission had not received the necessary material for its consideration until June ; it had found itself unable to deal with the matter adequately in time for the Assembly of this year, and it therefore proposed to continue the examination of the problem with a view to its discussion at the Assembly of 1930.

78. Mr. Henderson in his speech in the Assembly had dealt with the subject at some length, and the British Delegation submitted to the Fourth Committee a draft Resolution on the lines of Mr. Henderson's remarks. The ideas underlying the British proposal were that the subject should be dealt with by a Special Committee rather than by the Supervisory Commission, and that the Assembly should lay down in advance certain principles for the guidance of this Committee. The British delegate proposed that a Committee of five, two of whom should be members of the Supervisory Commission, should be set up, and that in framing its recommendations the Special Committee should have regard to the following principles :—

(1) That the staff of the League should as far as possible be employed permanently and on contracts of long duration.
(2) That every post should be open to be filled by promotion.
(3) That the system of selection and recruitment, while taking full account of an equitable distribution of posts among the different nationalities, should be particularly stringent in order to ensure the possession of the necessary qualifications.
(4) That there should be a special official to deal with questions relating to personnel.
(5) That a system of adequate pensions should be introduced.

The Italian Delegation submitted an alternative proposal which agreed with the British proposal as to the constitution of the Committee, but left the Committee full freedom of action as to the nature of its recommendations.

79. In the course of a long and important discussion on this subject Sir Chunilal Mehta made a speech of which the following is a summary. He expressed gratitude to the British delegate for having included in his principles the necessity for a due representation of various nationalities, as to which he had understood him to say that at any rate for the present recruitment from outside the ranks of the existing staff would be necessary in the case of some of the highest posts in order to secure the employment of nationals of the necessary calibre from States other than the Great Powers ; it was beyond dispute that anyone in the service of the League should place his loyalty to the League and its ideals first, but at the same time the international character of the League staff depended not only on the spirit of its members but also on their being truly representative, particularly in the case of the holders of the highest appointments, who exercised a considerable degree of initiative; the body that was to be set up should therefore be asked to recommend how the higher appointments could be made effectively representative ; he believed that the ideal of a representative staff could not be realised except on some principle of rotation, but he would confine the principle of rotation to the supervisory directing staff and would leave the rest to be organised on a permanent basis with the possibility of suitable prospects being ensured for them by the reservation of a proportion of the higher appointments; the principle of rotation, so far as it was applied, involved contracts of service for limited periods, and it was desirable that the League should be able to obtain the service of persons who had acquired experience of affairs in important positions in their own countries; such a system would enable India to help the League with the service of men trained in the Indian Public Services or outside them, about whom he ventured to claim that they were second to none in efficiency ; he quoted with approval the passage in Lord Balfour's report emphasising that the members of the Secretariat once appointed were no longer the servants of their countries but became for the time being the servants only of the League and that their duties were not national but international, and he agreed with the suggestion that this passage might be inserted in the contract of every League official ; impartiality was perhaps the most important of the qualifications required, and he suggested that in order to secure complete impartiality it might be desirable in the case of several at least of the higher posts to go further afield than had been possible immediately after the war ; the League would never fully assume the character of an international institution unless it paid sufficient regard to the needs and wishes of countries like India : in this connection Sir Chunilal Mehta recalled the statement made last year by Lord Lytton, that an atmosphere unfavourable to the League was arising in India and in the East owing to the lack of sufficient attention to the needs of Asiatic countries ; he argued further that the principle of rotation would serve to safeguard the League against the dangers of a rigid bureaucracy which were bound to be harmful in fields of activity where freshness and vigour of ideas were the principal consideration ; the absence of India from the Council of the League and from the higher posts held by the League staff lent support to the statement which Lord Lytton had made ; Sir Chunilal Mehta asked that adequate room should soon be found for Indians of the required standard in the offices of

responsibility; he hoped that the Secretary-General, to whose impartiality and singleminded devotion he paid a tribute, would strive for the speedy fulfilment of the ideal of giving legitimate representation to States other than the Great Powers; he thought that the Supervisory Commission should be asked to express its views on the proposal for an official to deal specially with questions relating to personnel; the Supervisory Commission could not be charged with having performed its duties inadequately or with having looked at matters merely from the point of view of the financial watchdog; he thought that if it had had the time it would have done justice to the whole question of recruitment, but if there was a general desire to refer it for speedier conclusion to another body he would raise no objection; finally, he declared that in saying what he had said he had in mind not the narrow interests of any single country but the higher interests of the League itself. The text of Sir Chunilal Mehta's speech will be found among the Appendices.

80. The Fourth Committee finally decided to recommend that a Committee of nine, of whom two should be members of the Supervisory Commission, should be appointed by the Assembly with unrestricted terms of reference, namely, to examine what steps could be taken to ensure in the future as in the past the best possible administrative results for the three League organs, and to prepare a report for submission to Governments with a view to consideration at the next Assembly. The Assembly, while accepting the proposed terms of reference, found it necessary to increase the size of the Committee to 13 members. We were fortunate in being able to secure the inclusion of the name of Sir Atul Chatterjee in the list of individuals who were appointed by the Assembly to form this Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions :—

Whereas the British Government has formulated the following draft resolution :—

"The Assembly,

"Recalling the resolution adopted by it on 26th September 1928, directing that an inquiry should be made as to what steps—in particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results;

"Decides that this inquiry shall be entrusted to a Special Commission of five members, of whom two shall be members of the Supervisory Commission;

"Adopts the following principles and decides that they shall form the basis of the recommendations of the Special Commission :

"(1) The members of the staff of the League should as far as possible have permanent employment and contracts of long duration.

"(2) Throughout the whole of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office every post should be open to be filled by promotion from among the whole body of officials.

"(3) The system of selection and recruitment, while taking full account of an equitable distribution of posts among the different nationalities, should be particularly stringent in order to ensure that the officials who become members of this permanent international civil service should have the character, the abilities and the training which are required.

"(4) All questions relating to the personnel should be the special concern of an administrative official who would assist the Secretary-General or the Director of the International Labour Office in dealing with such matters.

"(5) A system of adequate pensions should be introduced.

"Invites the Council to select and appoint the members of this Commission at the earliest possible date in order that its report may be made in time for consideration by the Assembly at its eleventh session."

And whereas the Italian Government has presented a further draft resolution as follows :—

"The Assembly,

"Referring to the resolution adopted on 26th September 1928, asking that an inquiry should be made into the most suitable steps to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results;

"Decides that a Committee of five members, including two members of the Supervisory Commission, shall be appointed to conduct this inquiry. The Committee will consider the results of the application of the principles adopted by the Second Assembly on the basis of the Noblemaire Committee's report. It will consider all matters connected with the organisation and duties of the Secretariat and the selection and terms of engagement of the staff, and any other material that may help the Assembly to gain a full knowledge of the question before taking a decision. The Committee will be entirely free to obtain such information as it may think useful and to propose such steps as it may consider most appropriate.

"The Assembly requests the Council to select and appoint the members of this Committee, which should be instructed to have its report ready in time for consideration by the next Assembly."

The Assembly, taking note of these two draft resolutions,

Decides that a Committee of Inquiry shall be constituted, consisting of nine members, two of whom shall be members of the Supervisory Commission, to be appointed by the Assembly to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to prepare a report thereon in adequate time so that it may be submitted to the Governments for consideration before the next session of the Assembly.

For that purpose, the various draft resolutions proposed on the subject to the Fourth Committee and the Minutes of the said Committee shall be transmitted to the Committee of Inquiry. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

The Assembly,

Amends its decision of 23rd September regarding the number of members of the Committee of Inquiry to be appointed to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the

best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice;

And decides to increase the number of members of the said Committee of Inquiry from 9 to 13. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Contributions in Arrears.

81. This matter was, as usual, referred to a Sub-Committee, on which Sir Chunilal Mehta served. The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report, which was discussed at a private session of the Fourth Committee. The position appears to be more satisfactory than for some time past, but at the beginning of September there still remained unpaid arrears of contributions, due before the end of 1928, to the total amount of 10,350,591 francs.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the Secretary-General with a view to the recovery of arrears;

Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

Appointment of Supervisory Commission.

82. It was decided at the Assembly of 1928 to transfer the authority for the appointment of the Supervisory Commission from the Council to the Assembly. It remained to devise a method by which the Assembly could exercise this function in a way that would not affect unfavourably the character and the efficiency of the Commission. It was finally agreed that the General Committee of the Assembly should act as a Selection Committee and should submit to the Assembly a list of names equal to the number of posts to be filled.

83. In order to give full effect to the change decided upon in 1928, all the members of the Supervisory Commission placed their resignations in the hands of the Assembly. There was some apprehension that the size of the Commission might be increased and that its independent and expert character might be modified in the direction of making its members representatives of particular countries. We were instructed to resist such tendencies and to endeavour to secure the continuance of the Commission in substantially its present form.

84. A proposal made in the Fourth Committee to increase the size of the Commission from five to seven, the adoption of which would have reduced its capacity for effective work and might have introduced a representative element, was defeated by 25 votes to 8. Finally, on the nomination of the General Committee the Assembly re-elected four of the retiring members, including Lord Meston, and in place of the fifth, who did not offer himself for further service, elected Count Moltke of Denmark.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Requests the General Committee to submit to the Assembly, for the election of the members of the Supervisory Commission, a list including a number of names equal to the number of seats to be filled in the Commission,

Adopts the amendments to the Financial Regulations proposed in this report. (*Resolution adopted on 14th September* 1929.)

COMMITTEE V.—Social and Humanitarian Questions.

Opium and Drugs.

85. The discussion this year on the report of the Advisory Committee on this subject was, as the report adopted by the Assembly stated, one of the most important which had ever taken place in the Fifth Committee, if not the most important. The immediate ratification and rigid enforcement of the Geneva Convention of 1925 is, as the Advisory Committee, the Council, and the Assembly have always maintained, the most valuable single step that can at present be taken to combat the illicit traffic. The Convention came into force in the autumn of 1928. Some 30 Governments had ratified it by the date of this Assembly, and it appeared from statements made in the Fifth Committee that a considerable number of others were on the point of doing so or would do so in the near future. The position, therefore, though not yet satisfactory, is promising, and the constant pressure of public opinion, expressed through the League, is having its effect. The Permanent Central Opium Board, which is an essential part of the machinery of the Geneva Convention, has been set up, Sir B. K. Mullick being a member, and is getting to work. Until more ratifications of the Convention have been received, and the Central Board is in full operation, the value of the Convention can only be partially realised.

86. The most remarkable feature of the report of the Advisory Committee at its last session was the revelations as to the illicit traffic contained in a memorandum submitted by the Netherlands Government on the transactions of a Dutch firm which had dealt with

and distributed large quantities of drugs obtained from factories in other European countries; it was estimated that this centre of international traffic, which has now been suppressed, probably dealt with about half the total annual world production of heroin; although its transactions did not infringe the laws then in force in the Netherlands, the drugs which it distributed to many parts of the world were intended for other than legitimate purposes. It is believed that even more notable revelations are imminent. Under the influence no doubt of these revelations the Governments of certain manufacturing States, whose reputations are involved, are beginning to show an entirely new attitude. Early in the debate in the Fifth Committee the representative of France stated that his Government had decided to impose a limitation on its manufacturers, and other declarations with regard to limitation were made by the representatives of other Governments, including in particular that of Japan. These declarations created a general impression that the time had come when an attempt might be made to limit the total amount of drugs manufactured in the world and to allocate quotas of this amount among the various manufacturing countries. This idea had been considered in 1924 in the course of the preparatory work for the Geneva Conference, but it had transpired that the time was not ripe for it. The Geneva Convention of 1925 contains *inter alia* a general obligation on the contracting parties to limit exclusively to medical and scientific purposes the manufacture of the drugs in question; but this obligation as it stands is of little practical value to ensure that drugs are not manufactured greatly in excess of legitimate requirements.

87. Four draft resolutions relating to the limitation of manufacture were submitted to the Committee, the most important being those of the British and Italian representatives. The British resolution asked that the Governments of the countries in which morphine, heroin or cocaine are manufactured should be invited to confer together as to the possibility of arriving at an agreement as to the total amount to be manufactured and as to the quota of that amount to be manufactured in each country. The Italian resolution simply asked that the Advisory Committee should be invited to study the most effective means of carrying out a limitation of manufacture. It became clear, however, that the Italian Delegation contemplated a Conference which should not be limited to manufacturing States, which are at most eight or nine in number, and in some quarters it was desired to hold a Conference to which all States should be invited. It was manifestly desirable that the Advisory Committee should be prominently associated with this new development; it was desirable also that the States which are interested in the problem as consumers rather than as States containing factories should have no reason for supposing that their interests would not be fully safeguarded; but it was undesirable that the participants in the Conference should be unduly numerous, seeing in particular that the obligations in view would fall solely upon the manufacturing States. The reconciliation of the different points of view proved to be very difficult and in the concluding stages took place under undue pressure of time. Sir Chunilal Mehta, who represented India on this question, kept in close touch with the negotiations. The result, which was less unsatisfactory than might have occurred in the circumstances, was a recommendation that the Advisory Committee should prepare plans for the limitation of manufacture, and that thereafter the Council should decide upon the convening of a Conference of representatives of the manufacturing States and of representatives of the principal consuming countries to a number not exceeding that of the manufacturing countries, together with possibly some experts to be proposed by the Opium and Health Committees. The problem bristles with difficulties; but we believe that, given a reasonable amount of goodwill and sincerity, real progress will be made in suppressing a scandalous traffic from which India is one of the principal sufferers.

88. The debate touched upon many other aspects of the question, and resolutions were passed which included reference to measures for dealing with the smuggling of drugs through the post, with the necessity for putting into operation effective national systems of administrative control on the lines of, or equivalent to, the model code which had been elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, and with the desirability of securing the co-operation of the International Criminal Police Commission in the suppression of the illicit traffic. The Committee also approved some important recommendations of the Advisory Committee as to the stringent inquiry which Governments should make before issuing to business firms licences to deal in drugs, and as to the importance of imposing severe penalties and withdrawing licences in the case of manufacturers or traders who have been found to be implicated in the illicit traffic.

89. The Indian Delegation, while fully approving the idea of convening a Conference for the limitation of manufacture, was anxious that certain other essential points should not be overshadowed by the new measures in contemplation; these points were the importance and value of the Geneva Convention of 1925, the need for an intensification of the efforts of Governments in applying this Convention and in acting on the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, and the maintenance of the authority of the Advisory Committee against whom there has been an undercurrent of hostility and criticism. Sir Chunilal Mehta therefore moved a resolution in the following terms: "The Assembly, having noted the report of the Advisory Committee at its twelfth session, expresses its satisfaction with the work which has

been accomplished and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925 and to expose the extent of the methods of the illicit traffic; and desires that these efforts will be continued and will receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect." In moving this resolution Sir Chunilal Mehta said that his principal desire was that the Assembly on behalf of all its Members should declare that they were determined to put an end to the illicit traffic and would assist the Advisory Committee by all possible means; he welcomed the resolution which had been submitted by the British Delegation and thought that no step could be more important at the present time than the limitation of manufacture; India had the cleanest possible record, not only in regard to opium, but also in regard to the manufacture and control of drugs; no practical measure could be too progressive for India, and indeed it might in the end be found necessary that the example of India, which had for many years had a Government monopoly, should be followed by all; as evidence that India was one of the consuming countries which suffered most from the illicit traffic, he stated that in the first six months of 1929 no less than 6,668 ounces of illicit cocaine had been seized in India, certain seizures having exceeded 1,000 ounces in quantity; in addition to supporting the principle of the British proposal, he supported a resolution submitted by the Austrian delegate as to the need for the co-operation of the police authorities of all countries; he did not agree with the expressions of pessimism which had come from certain quarters, and he thought that the work of the Advisory Committee in laying bare the activities of those engaged in the illicit traffic had been attended by notable success and would be attended by still greater success if properly supported; in this connection he drew special attention to the latter part of his resolution; it was essential that the measures already agreed upon should be applied as widely as possible; a limited measure of control applied by a large number of countries would be more effective than stringent measures carried out only by a few countries; the traffic could only be dealt with if all Governments put into force, and kept in force, all the provisions of the Geneva Convention and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee; he had great hopes of the Permanent Central Board when its work had been fully developed; the Assembly should support the proposal for the limitation of manufacture, but it would take much time before such a scheme could come into operation and there should be no relaxation of effort to deal with the traffic according to existing provisions in the meantime; the fuller the information which countries supplied as to seizures, as to the punishment of traffickers, as to the quantities of drugs imported, exported and in stock, &c., the more effective would the future work of the League in this field become.

Constitution of the Advisory Committee.

90. Up to now the Advisory Committee has consisted for the most part of representatives of countries which are concerned with the problem either as producers of raw materials or as users of raw materials for the purpose of manufacture or as consumers of raw opium. It is undoubtedly the case that the scope of the Committee's work has changed somewhat in the course of time, and is now principally concerned with the traffic in manufactured drugs; it is maintained with some reason that the States which are concerned with the problem simply as consumers of manufactured drugs and are suffering from the illicit traffic have not taken an adequate part in the proceedings, and that in order that they may do so they should be better represented on the Advisory Committee. In accordance with our instructions we were sympathetic with this claim, although in view of the fact that the Advisory Committee is already somewhat large for its purpose we hoped that the claim might be met by some redistribution of seats rather than by enlargement. Sir Chunilal Mehta expressed this view. To our regret the resolution which was carried contemplates an enlargement of the Committee, but the report of the Fifth Committee points out the disadvantage of any enlargement to a point at which the work of the Committee would be rendered ineffective.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations:—

1. In view of the extensive use of the post which is made by persons engaged in the illicit traffic in drugs, the Assembly recommends that every State Member of the League should adopt, if it has not already done so, and put into operation as soon as possible, the following measures:—

(1) Arrangements should be made to subject to the supervision of the Customs, both in the country of consignment and in the country of destination, all postal matter (correspondence, letters, business papers, samples, or packages) which there is reason to suspect may contain dangerous drugs, and either to open any suspected postal matter or to require the sender or the consignee (as the case may be) to open it in the presence of the authorities.

(2) Strict supervision should be exercised over the renting of post-office boxes, and the name and address of the lessee should in every case be carefully verified.

(3) Having regard to the prevalence of the illicit traffic in the Far East in particular, correspondence addressed to the Far East should be concentrated for despatch at a certain number of post offices in order to enable the authorities to detect any unusual amount of correspondence or other postal matter addressed to suspected persons or destinations.

The Assembly also recommends that the States Members should be asked to inform the Secretary-General as soon as possible whether they have adopted or are prepared to adopt the foregoing measures.

2. The Assembly recommends that the Council, in view of the gravity of the present situation, should take immediate steps to draw the attention of all Governments to the vital necessity of their putting into operation an effective national system of administrative control in accordance with the provisions of the Hague and the Geneva Conventions, especially those which relate to the limitation of manufacture—recalling to their attention in this connection the model code for the administrative control of the drug traffic elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, and asking them to be good enough to indicate before 31st May 1930 whether they have in operation in their countries the same or equivalent administrative provisions, and to furnish copies of any regulations issued and particulars of arrangements made for the purpose; or, if such provisions have not at present been adopted, to indicate when it may be possible for them to put such provisions into operation.

3. The Assembly,

Impressed by the disclosures made in the Report of the Advisory Committee as to the large quantities of dangerous drugs still passing in the illicit traffic;

Recalling the proposals made in connection with the Geneva Conference of 1924–5 for the direct limitation by agreement between the Governments of the manufacturing countries of the amount of such drugs manufactured;

Taking note of the important declaration made in the course of the present meeting of the Assembly by the representative of France that his Government has decided to impose such limitation on its manufacturers, and of the declarations made by other Governments as to limitation;

Recognising that the Geneva Convention of 1925 provides indispensable machinery for the national and international control of the traffic in drugs, the effective application of which should be secured in all countries at the earliest possible date; but that, owing to the delay in bringing the Convention into force, its full effects cannot be realised in the near future;

Desiring that, if possible, steps supplementing the Convention should be taken without delay to limit the manufacture of dangerous drugs to the amounts required for medical and scientific purposes:—

(I) Regards the principle of the limitation of the manufacture of the drugs mentioned in paras. (*b*), (*c*) and (*g*) of Article 4 of the Convention of Geneva by international agreement as now accepted;

(II) Requests the Advisory Committee to prepare plans for such limitation, regard being had to world requirements for medical and scientific purposes and the means of preventing an increase in price which would lead to the establishment of new factories in countries which are not at present manufacturing countries;

(III) The Committee's Report will be submitted to the Council, which will decide on the convening of a Conference of the Governments in whose countries the above-mentioned drugs are manufactured and the principal consuming countries in a number not exceeding that of the manufacturing countries, and whether certain experts proposed by the Opium and the Health Committees should be included;

(IV) Recommends that the Advisory Committee be enlarged in order to ensure more effective representation on that Committee of the non-manufacturing countries;

(V) Agrees that the sum of 25,000 Swiss francs shall be included in the budget of the League for 1930 in order to meet the expenses of such a Conference.

4. The Assembly decides to ask the Council to consider inviting the International Criminal Police Commission to present, after consulting all the police authorities represented upon it, suggestions as to the ways in which the Commission, and the authorities represented on it, can best assist the League of Nations and the States Members of the League, in the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs and for the protection of women and children. In the light of these suggestions, the appropriate Committees of the League will be able to judge whether it would be advisable to arrange for conferences between those Committees and representatives of the Commission.

5. The Assembly, having noted the Report of the Advisory Committee at its twelfth session, expresses its satisfaction with the work which has been accomplished and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925, and to expose the extent and methods of the illicit traffic. It desires that these efforts shall be continued and receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 24th September* 1929.)

Child Welfare.

91. The Child Welfare Committee was mainly concerned last year with the preparation of two preliminary draft Conventions on the repatriation and assistance of children who happen to be in foreign countries and whose position is insecure. These drafts have been prepared with the object of enabling Governments to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements. They are principally of interest to countries with land frontiers which are easily traversed. The Committee has also been concerned with other questions, such as the position of illegitimate children, the organisation and working of juvenile courts, and the relations between child welfare and the cinema. The Eighth Assembly passed a resolution advising the Child Welfare Committee not to diffuse its energies and to confine itself to matters of practical international importance. Since then the scope of the Committee's work has been more restricted, with advantage to its value and quality. The Fifth Committee approved the report of the Child Welfare Committee and recommended that it should continue its work on the lines indicated therein. There was no occasion for us to take part in the discussion.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly approves the report of the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its fifth session and recommends that the Committee should continue its work on the lines indicated therein. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September* 1929.)

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

92. The principal matter of interest to India in the recent work of the Advisory Committee for this subject was the proposal to extend the inquiries of the Special Body of Experts which has already reported on the conditions of this traffic in Europe, America, and the Near East. The Assembly of 1928 had expressed the hope that it would be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation had already taken place. The Advisory Committee thought that with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries should be further diffused in countries not previously visited, especially in the East. The Council of the League in June had adopted this view and had decided that "with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries into the international traffic should be pursued in other countries not previously visited, especially in the East." The Council also approved the view of the Committee, that "in view of the difference in social customs in Eastern countries, the nature and extent of the inquiries to be made and the methods to be followed will require special consideration, and the composition of the Special Body of Experts will have to be examined in the light of the altered circumstances." On the instructions of the Council the Secretary-General has communicated with the Governments concerned, and has been informed that the Government of India are prepared to consent to the extension of the inquiry and will co-operate on the understanding that the conditions laid down by the Council will be fulfilled. It is understood that if the replies of the other countries concerned are favourable, the necessary funds will be made available from the private source which met the expenses of the previous inquiry.

93. In the course of the discussions His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala took occasion to refer to this subject and to give a brief general account of the important developments which have recently been taking place in India in regard to the welfare of women and children. After expressing appreciation of the reports which were before the Committee, His Highness said that he did not feel called upon to repeat the warnings which he had ventured to offer in a previous year as to the possible consequences of approaching Eastern problems with Western preconceptions, because he recognised that the Advisory Committee had been pursuing its labours with a notable discretion; difference of environment and culture must, to some extent, result in differences of method and procedure, but there was an identity of aim which found a common source of encouragement and inspiration in the proceedings at Geneva; he said that India would welcome the extension of the inquiry on the international traffic, on the understanding that certain changes in the methods of the inquiry, which were necessitated by the different character of the new field of investigation, would be made; he then said that, although it might not be justifiable in the ordinary way for a delegate to take up the Committee's time with a description of the social conditions of his own particular country, he would attempt to describe briefly the significant developments which had taken place in India in regard to the position and welfare of women, because the social conditions of India had recently received a certain amount of lively attention in other countries, and might therefore be presumed to be of some general interest, and because the phase which was opening in India might eventually have reactions far outside it; while not pretending that social evils did not exist in India, nor desiring to minimise their gravity, he said that the nature and degree of those evils needed qualification and must be looked at in their true perspective; he did not wish to exaggerate the progress which had so far been made in India, and he only wished to submit evidence that consciences were being stirred, that a spontaneous movement was in progress, that changes were taking place which would have been regarded as inconceivable quite recently, and that Indian women were themselves taking the matter in hand in spite of the tradition of seclusion; they were doing this by work both inside and outside legislative bodies, which, except in one province, were now open to women; he stated the facts in regard to the age of marriage and the age of consent and referred to the proposals which at that moment were before the Indian Legislature and which if passed into law, as has since happened, would result in changes profoundly affecting the social conditions of India; he referred also to the recent legislation in the United Provinces with the object of terminating the custom whereby minor girls of a certain caste were trained for immoral purposes, and to the legislation in Madras in regard to the abuse associated with the devadasis; he mentioned that the latter measure had been passed on the motion of a woman. Referring to the subjects of health and education, he said that the systems of caste and purdah presented great difficulties in India and that practical reformers must take these systems as they existed, seeking to obtain full advantage from the relaxation of their force which was gradually occurring; provision of medical aid to women and children was undoubtedly one of the great problems of India, and he expressed the belief that it would be of great value if the organisations of the League for health and social questions were to apply the comparative method of studying the best means of rendering the essential modicum of medical knowledge available in conditions such as those which existed in India; in regard to education he thought that progress depended on the ability of women themselves to appreciate their own needs, to formulate their own programme and to work for the realisation of it, and he gave evidence to show that the importance of these conditions was being increasingly realised and that the belief that the education of women was essential to national advancement was becoming

widespread; as the most interesting and encouraging sign of all, he referred to the growth of the organisation originally known as the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform, which first met in 1927; he spoke of the leading part played in the work of this organisation by Her Highness the Maharanee of Baroda, Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, and by Her Highness the Dowager Ranee of Mandi; he described the fundamental object of this organisation and stated that, although started with the idea of dealing exclusively with educational matters, it had been obliged to widen its scope so as to deal also with matters of social reform; he claimed that this organisation deserved the warmest sympathy and encouragement; having thus dealt with British India, he said that there was evidence of a similar movement in the Indian States, although it was difficult to describe it in general terms on account of the great variation of conditions in the States; there was no doubt that in the more wealthy and progressive States the advancement of ideas was no less marked than in British India, and indeed some of the States were ahead of British India in certain important respects; on the whole the conservative principle was more strong in the States and the systems of caste and purdah were perhaps even less amenable to change than in British India; welfare work therefore developed more slowly, but there was evidence of the existence and development of many beneficial institutions in the large towns and the interest was even spreading to the villages; it could be observed that the women were now discussing and doing things in a manner which would hardly have been possible 10 years ago; the movement towards better conditions was only in its infancy, but its significance could not be judged except by those with personal knowledge of the recent past, when the things which were now happening would have seemed inconceivable; His Highness concluded by saying that he did not wish to impress the Committee with a sense of reforms already accomplished, but rather with a sense of great changes which were beginning and were bound to proceed, and he maintained that it would be well rather to watch and encourage the forces which were moving towards the development of better conditions than to contemplate morbidly the evils which had to be cured. His Highness's speech is reprinted in the Appendices.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on the work of its eighth session, records its appreciation of the work of the Committee and expresses the hope that the work will be continued along the lines indicated in the report. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September* 1929.)

COMMITTEE VI.—Political Questions.

Mandates.

94. The discussion on this subject centred upon three matters:—(1) the recent events in Palestine; (2) the question whether B and C Mandates are of temporary or permanent duration; (3) the application of the conception of sovereignty in the case of mandated territories.

In regard to (1) the British delegate described the steps that were being taken and said that the Mandatory Power had no intention of proposing changes in the system which the mandate lays down; the Committee expressed its complete confidence in the inquiry which was being instituted. With regard to (2) the discussions did not result in any modification of the *status quo*. The third subject is of great theoretical complexity, but is not regarded as likely to give rise to any difficulties in practice. No point of special interest to India arose. The Committee again repeated its confidence in the Mandatory Powers and the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having noted the work of the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant;

(*a*) Renews the expression of confidence in them voted by previous Assemblies;

(*b*) (i) Expresses its profound regret at the recent incidents in Palestine involving the loss of human lives;

(ii) Expresses its complete confidence in the inquiry which the mandatory Power is instituting;

(iii) Trusts that the latter will speedily succeed in completely restoring order and in taking measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents;

(*c*) Trusts that, thanks to the united efforts of the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council, the institution of mandates will continue to pursue the ideal of civilisation which is set before it. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September* 1929.)

Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Erivan.

95. Last year the Assembly voted a sum of money to enable Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees, to carry on his plans for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan. But in the meantime he had only been able to collect half the sum of money regarded by the Erivan Government as the minimum required for settlement operations. In these circumstances Dr. Nansen proposed, at any rate for the present, to

abandon his efforts and the Committee with regret approved this course. In consequence a credit for 50,000 francs was omitted from the Budget.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having considered carefully Dr. Nansen's report concerning the result of his negotiations for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan ;

Notes that, although he does not consider the moment opportune for the prosecution of those negotiations, he is willing to keep in touch with the movement for the return of Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan in order that he may be in a position to judge whether, at a later date, the co-operation of the High Commission for Refugees might be effective ;

Decides to discontinue for the moment its connection with this scheme, but to invite the High Commissioner to keep in touch with the movement for the return of the Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan and to acquaint the Council if and when the High Commission's co-operation might appear to be opportune. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September* 1929.)

Russian and other Classes of Refugees.

96. We have already in our Report of the work of the Fourth Committee alluded to the administrative side of this question. The receipt of the report of the first meeting of the Advisory Commission led to a review of the League's general policy in regard to refugees. Briefly, the work falls into two parts: (1) the finding of employment for refugees who are still without work ; valuable services have been and are being performed in this connection by means of emigration schemes and otherwise, and the end of this part of the work should be reached in a reasonably short time ; (2) the legal problem of the personal status of refugees ; unless and until they either return to the countries of their origin and assume their old nationality or are allowed to acquire the nationality of the countries in which they have found refuge, they would, without the assistance of the High Commissioner, be in a position of anomaly and difficulty which would expose them to much personal risk and hardship ; the High Commissioner has, however, by means of inter-Governmental arrangements, been able to provide them in most cases with a provisional legal status ; this régime cannot, however, continue indefinitely. The Committee decided that the Refugees' Organisation should be wound up within a maximum period of 10 years and recommended that the work of winding up should be methodically pursued in order that it may be possible subsequently to reduce this period of 10 years.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations :—

The Assembly,

(1) Has examined the reports submitted by the High Commissioner, the Advisory Commission and the Supervisory Commission on the question of Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees ;

(2) Thanks the High Commissioner and the Advisory Commission for the work accomplished and asks them to continue their work on the basis of the programme outlined in the Advisory Commission's report, under the direction of the Council of the League of Nations ;

(3) Decides that the refugees' organisation should be wound up within a maximum period of 10 years ;

(4) Recommends that the work of winding-up should be methodically pursued in order that it may be possible subsequently to reduce this period of 10 years ;

(5) Decides that the High Commissioner's central service be placed for a period of one year, and as an experiment, under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, subject to the conditions indicated by the Fourth Committee ;

(6) Requests the Secretary-General to report to the next Assembly on the experience thus acquired and to make proposals for the administration of the refugees' organisation during the whole period in which it is being wound up ;

(7) Requests the Governments to adopt and apply the inter-governmental Arrangements of 5th July 1922, 31st May 1924, 12th May 1926, and 30th June 1928, and expresses the wish that the use of the Nansen stamp should be further extended ;

(8) Sees no objection to part of the funds derived from the sale of the Nansen stamps being utilised to add to the funds created for the benefit of deserving refugees ;

(9) Authorises the High Commissioner to make a fresh appeal to the International Organisations of the Red Cross and to various private associations and individuals to continue and develop their efforts in order to obtain the largest possible sums for the continuation of the work undertaken by the High Commissioner ;

(10) Asks the Council to take such steps as the execution of these resolutions may render necessary until the next session of the Assembly. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 23rd September* 1929.)

Slavery.

97. The Slavery Convention adopted by the Assembly of 1926 has so far been ratified or acceded to by 28 States. Many of the countries which have not so far adhered to it have admittedly no direct concern with the question, but there are still some countries whose adherence is most desirable. The Convention contains no obligation on the High Contracting Parties to communicate any laws and regulations which they may enact in fulfilment of the Convention ; States were at the same time also recommended to submit spontaneously other information bearing on the subject. The States from which information has been received

are so far comparatively few, India being one of them; there is some risk of a false impression being created that these States are the only States in which slavery survives.

98. On behalf of the British Delegation Lord Cecil, to whom the Slavery Convention of 1926 was largely due, proposed in the Sixth Committee that the Temporary Slavery Commission, which had been responsible for the preparation of the Convention, should be revived. His desire was that the Temporary Slavery Commission when resuscitated should be asked to report generally on the execution of the Convention, and particularly on the question why so many ratifications were still outstanding, and that it should ascertain why so few countries had been able to give information, and whether there was any reason to suppose that a considerable amount of slavery and slave trading still existed, and, if so, what remedies were possible. There were, he stated, certainly two States in regard to which information existed which might have, but had not, been communicated to the League, and the British Government had information of the survival of slave trading in certain areas—for instance, the Red Sea.

99. In the course of the discussion Mr. Raza Ali supported Lord Cecil's proposal. Not only, he said, was it necessary that the survivals of slavery as such should be abolished, but the League should make a serious effort to strike at the root of the system which sanctioned any form of compulsory labour because the difference between the two systems, in his opinion, was very small; the Committee should not make any difference between the question of native labour and that of non-native labour; the conditions of labour in general might vary from country to country, but such differences should not be based upon the fact that certain labour was drawn from a particular class, nor should any distinction be made regarding the colour of the labourers; generally speaking, what applied to labour conditions in certain European countries applied also to similar conditions in Asia and Africa. It had been suggested in the Committee that the evil of slavery was not so great as many people believed, and, if so, there could be no objection to the investigations proposed; on the other hand, there were people who believed that systems of slavery, which amounted to a most objectionable abuse, did still survive in certain regions, and those people ought to have an opportunity to prove their contention; it would be unfortunate if the impression were created that there was any desire to delay the solution of the problem or that it was being shelved in certain countries, particularly in Asia and Africa; he, therefore, was in favour of an early and thorough investigation, and declared that, so far an India was concerned, he did not wish the question to be prejudged, and thought that the examination of the conditions existing in India would not be found to be to the detriment of that country.

100. Lord Cecil's proposal was eventually referred to a Sub-Committee. It found much support, but at the same time the Sub-Committee noted certain reasons which appeared to indicate that the reappointment of the temporary Slavery Commission in the immediate future would not serve a useful purpose. In the first place any conclusions which might be arrived at could only relate to the slave trade and slavery itself, and must exclude forced labour, which is at present being dealt with by the International Labour Organisation; secondly, it was considered that it would be premature after only three years to decide whether or not the Convention of 1926 was producing the results that had been anticipated; and thirdly, the Sub-Committee was of opinion that an inquiry should be undertaken as to the results so far obtained from the Convention before the proposal to revive the temporary Commission was decided upon. The Sixth Committee accordingly decided that an appeal should be made to the States which had not already adhered to the Convention to do so, and that the Secretary-General should collect all possible information on the present position before the next Assembly, until which time the further consideration of the British Government's proposal was postponed.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Being extremely anxious to achieve the complete and final abolition of slavery and of the slave trade;

Considering the importance, in order to attain these results, of the general ratification of the Convention on Slavery;

Having considered the British Government's proposal for the creation of a new Temporary Commission on Slavery;

Being of opinion that an urgent appeal should first be addressed to the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention on Slavery, and that it is necessary above all to collect information on the present position of the question;

Postpones, therefore, further consideration of the British Government's proposal;

Urgently requests the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention of 25th September 1926, relative to slavery;

Instructs the Secretary-General to collect from the States Members of the League, and from those non-Member States which are parties to the Convention, all possible information on the present position of slavery, and to report to the next Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September* 1929.)

General Observations.

101. Having thus described the proceedings of the Assembly, and the part played in them by the Indian Delegation, we feel it our duty to offer some general observations and some suggestions, which, if adopted, would, in our opinion, strengthen the position of India in the

League, and help to bring about a clearer appreciation of that position both in India and abroad. No one will, we presume, dispute the view that, India having been admitted as an independent Member of the League under the Treaty of Versailles, it is both her right and her duty to make that membership as effective as possible. The attainment of this object depends in our view upon four factors, which we place in what appears to us to be the order of their importance: first, that the activities of India's representatives should be sustained by an enlightened and interested public opinion in India; secondly, that the machinery of Government itself should be adapted to meet the requirements of increasing activity in the field of operation of the League and to satisfy the demands which an expansion of public interest in India would naturally entail; thirdly, that in the selection of delegates for the Assembly and other League Conferences it is of predominant importance that they should possess the experience necessary to enable them to discharge their duties as delegates actively and efficiently; and fourthly, that the policy of India in relation to the League should be conducted in such a way that foreign countries will appreciate the reality of India's intention to play in the League a part which is consistent with her relative importance among the nations of the world. Largely, these ideas can only be realised by the spirit in which international problems are approached and undertaken. But the attainment of them would, in our view, be greatly assisted by the adoption of certain practical measures which we shall proceed to detail.

Proposals.

(1) In the first place we consider that some means should be found for increasing the interest of the Indian Legislature in the work of the League, and for associating it with the work of the representatives of India. The Indian Legislature is the constitutional embodiment of Indian public opinion on all matters which concern India as a whole, and it seems only natural that it should, as one of its functions, sustain and stimulate consistently with its powers India's participation in international affairs. So far the Indian Legislature has not displayed much interest in the League. It is not for us to suggest why this has been so. We would rather confine ourselves to suggesting how a broader, a more active, and a better informed interest could be generated. Accordingly we recommend that a standing Advisory Committee of the Legislature, analogous to similar bodies which already exist, should be created for the purpose of considering and advising upon all important matters arising out of India's membership of the League. It would examine the reports of delegates of India, with the collaboration, as far as possible, of the delegates themselves, who might be invited to Delhi or Simla for the purpose. It would consider and advise to what extent the attitude taken up by these delegates should be maintained or developed. It would receive information as to matters which are expected in the near future to be considered by the Assembly and other League Conferences, including as far as possible the actual agenda of such meetings, and it would submit to Government its advice, in as precise a form as circumstances may render desirable and possible, as to the instructions which should be given to the representatives of India. Circumstances may render it necessary for Government to instruct delegates without consultation with the Committee in all questions which arise at short notice; but consistently with this, the fullest possible use should be made of the Committee to ensure that the instructions to delegates are in accordance with public opinion. Joint sessions might be arranged for the consideration of matters which are the concern of some other Standing Committee as well as of the League Standing Committee. The Committee will be free to make recommendations on matters in which they consider that representatives of India might take the initiative at international meetings organised by or held under the auspices of the League.

(2) It would be a necessary complement to our first proposal, as well as desirable on other grounds, that the administration itself should be provided with suitable machinery for a more intensive and adequate treatment of League questions. This should be done by attaching a whole-time officer to the appropriate Department. This officer's function would be generally to study and digest the League's voluminous literature, to facilitate co-ordination of work among the various Departments of the Government of India which may be specially concerned with particular aspects of the activities of the League, to prepare documentary material necessary for members of delegations, and finally, but not least, to perform those secretarial and administrative services which the creation of the Standing Committee would involve.

(3) Some machinery should also be created which would enable the Government of India to be better informed as to affairs at Geneva. There are a number of countries, some remote from Geneva and others comparatively near, which have found it desirable to supplement, by the appointment of permanent representatives at the headquarters of the League or by other means, the information on League matters which is derivable from official documents studied in their Ministries at home, and we believe that India is in need of similar facilities.

(4) The number of Indians employed in the Secretariat of the League, and the positions which they have so far occupied, are conspicuously inferior, in our opinion, to the relative importance of India as a country, and to the place which India should rightly occupy among

the States Members of the League. Appointments are exclusively within the discretion of the Secretary-General. With this we have neither the desire nor the right to interfere. We are conscious of his goodwill, and we appreciate his difficulties. The representation of different countries is not, and should not be, a predominant factor in building up an international Civil Service. But countries are not, and cannot be, completely indifferent to the extent to which their importance is reflected in the constitution of the Secretariat. The marked under-representation of an important country will have an unfavourable influence on the spirit in which that country contributes to the work of the League, and will affect the qualifications of the Secretariat itself for discharging its duties with a full realisation of the interests and influences involved. The point has often been made before, and we ourselves repeated it at this Assembly. It is particularly important that whenever an opportunity occurs no effort should be spared to find and put forward candidates of the highest possible qualifications. Lest our remarks on this subject should be misinterpreted on account of their juxtaposition to proposals which are designed to increase the practical effectiveness of India's participation in the work of the League, we wish to make it perfectly plain that the more adequate representation of India in the Secretariat is not to be sought as a means of serving the interests of India by influence exercised internally in the Secretariat, nor, in fact, as a means of obtaining direct advantages of any sort. We wholly agree with the view that nationals employed in the Secretariat should not in any way directly or indirectly act as the servants or agents of the Governments of the country to which they belong. The considerations supporting the view which we represent are of a different and higher order. They flow primarily from a conviction that the League can fulfil its high moral mission most effectively only if its staff is not only international in its outlook but also in its personnel.

(5) Our predecessors have often urged the necessity for a strong element of continuity in the composition of the delegation to the Assembly. Yet on this occasion His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, alone of a delegation of six, had had previous experience. We can only emphasise the view which has been expressed before. There are, as we are aware, obvious difficulties in securing continuity, especially in the case of a distant country, where service as a delegate involves long absence. There are even, as we know, some considerations in favour of variation. Yet the experience of other countries has almost universally resulted in continuous representation, except so far as variation is necessitated by radical changes of national policy. Many of the delegates attend the Assembly year after year, and some have been present at every Assembly. The conditions, the methods of procedure and the subject-matter are so peculiar that experience is important to an exceptional degree, and in the midst of delegates possessing that experience those who do not possess it cannot hope or be expected to do full justice to themselves and the interests which they represent. We know of no delegation which attempts to play an important part in the work of the Assembly with so many changes in its personnel as the Indian Delegation, and the discontinuity in the representation of India is a subject of widespread comment. Year after year the positions of influence are inevitably assigned to delegates who know the Assembly and are known to it; the leading part in the debates is occupied by them, and the proposals which are destined to bear fruit proceed from them. If India is to be adequately and worthily represented at Geneva, if she is to rank with the countries whose spokesmen are not limited to the representation and defence of particular national interests, but are in a position to contribute to the general development of ideas, some means must be found of constituting the delegations with as little variation as possible. We suggest as a practical measure that no delegate should in future be appointed unless he is prepared, if called upon, to serve on at least two or three consecutive occasions.

(6) If we may offer further suggestion as to the composition of the delegation, we would propose that the full delegates should ordinarily be Indians, and that one or more of the full or substitute delegates should be chosen from the Indian Legislature.

(7) Finally, we consider that an active policy should be pursued with regard to the possibility of India being elected to membership of the Council of the League. Election to the Council is the aspiration of all States Members who are not entitled to permanent seats, and who take their League membership seriously. So far as the relative importance of States Members may be gauged by the proportion of their contribution to the expenses of the League, India stands above all those States which are not entitled to permanent representation on the Council. India cannot be expected to deny herself the aspiration of being elected to the Council. She was admitted to the League on equal terms with all other States Members, and it hardly seems too much to claim that her colleagues should freely recognise this fact. The facts that the Indian Delegation has been led by an Indian and that the Optional Clause has been signed on her behalf by an Indian are recent testimony to the reality of her independence as a member of the League. We hope that this testimony will be supplemented and reinforced in any way that may be required to make it clear that if India were elected to the Council the attitude of her representative would be the attitude of the country which he represents no more and no less than in the case of other countries. There is no formal candidature, but there are means of indicating and of ascertaining whether a country is hoping to receive votes. We trust that steps will be taken on the first suitable occasion to make it known that India is to be

regarded as a candidate. It is not, in our opinion, necessary to wait until there is a good chance of actual success. It would be worth while to cultivate the idea that India is an effective candidate by collecting and registering a moderate number of votes on the first available opportunity.

102. For much that we have said in the preceding paragraphs we claim no originality. Some of our proposals involve a considerable increase of effort and some small amount of additional expenditure. The effort and expenditure which membership of the League throws upon India is already somewhat heavy, and we are aware that there is a tendency to regard them as excessive. It is, however, our considered view that full value is not at present being obtained, and that if such is to be obtained some further expenditure of effort and money is unavoidable. The reduction of existing commitments would be neither practical nor advantageous to India, and we believe that the statesmanlike course is to accept the relatively unimportant additional burdens necessary to get the full benefit of the effort and money which are already being expended. We feel no doubt whatever as to the substantial character of the benefits to be derived from a full and active participation in the work of the League. Our recommendations have the full support of our colleagues Sir Chunilal Mehta, Sir Geoffrey Corbett and Syed Raza Ali, the substitute members of this delegation, whose collaboration we warmly acknowledge.

Conclusion.

103. We have already permitted ourselves a more extended measure of general observations than is usual, and we will not further lengthen our Report except to express the hope that our experiences and the lessons which we have drawn from them may be of some benefit to our successors, and to record our appreciation of the privilege with which we have been honoured of representing India at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

(Signed) MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH.
JAGATJIT SINGH,
Maharajah of Kapurthala.
EWART GREAVES.

W. D. CROFT, *Secretary*,
January 1930.

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APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

ABYSSINIA.—His Excellency Count Lagarde, Duc d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of the Abyssinian Empire accredited to the League of Nations, High Counsellor).

Special Delegation.—His Excellency le Bettoadded Guetatcheou Abate (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). Lidj Andargué Massaï. Ato Efrem Twolde Medhen.

ALBANIA.—M. Raouf Fitso (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Mehdi Frasheri (former Minister, President of the Council of State). M. Demètre Poppa (Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

AUSTRALIA.—Major the Hon. Charles William Clanan Marr, D.S.O., M.C. (Honorary Minister). Major-Gen. the Hon. Sir Granville de Laune Ryrie, K.C.M.G., C.B., V.D. (High Commissioner in London). Sir William Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G., B.A., LL.D.

Substitutes.—Mrs. Roberta Jull, M.B., C.M. Mr. Frank Lidgett McDougall, C.M.G.

AUSTRIA.—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Emerich Pflügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Austrian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Max Hoffinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).

Substitutes.—Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at the University of Vienna, Member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations). Dr. Markus Leitmaier (Ministerial Councillor).

BELGIUM.—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. P. E. Janson (Minister for Justice). Viscount P. Poullet (Minister of State, former President of the House of Representatives, former Prime Minister). Count H. Carton de Wiart (Minister of State, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Justice). (During M. Hymans' stay at Geneva, Count Carton de Wiart acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—Baron Moncheur (Honorary Ambassador). Baron Edouard Rolin-Jaequemyns (Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for the Interior). M. Fernand van Langenhove (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. J. Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Henri Rolin (Barrister at the Brussels Court of Appeal, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

BOLIVIA.—M. Adolfe Costa du Rels (former Finance Minister, former Bolivian Delegate at the Havana Pan-American Conference). His Excellency M. Alberto Cortadellas (former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (Prime Minister). The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Right Hon. William Graham, M.P. (President of the Board of Trade).

Substitutes.—The Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office). Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A. Mrs. Mary Hamilton, M.P. Professor P. J. Noel Baker, M.P. (In the absence of either the Prime Minister or the President of the Board of Trade, Lord Cecil will act as delegate. In the absence of both the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Cecil Hurst will act as delegate.)

BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Athanase Bouroff (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Minister for Finance).

Substitute.—M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland, Permanent Bulgarian Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

CANADA.—The Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.R., C.P., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Privy Council of Canada, Minister of State, Representative of the Government in the Senate). The Hon. John Campbell Elliott, B.C.L., D.C.L., K.C., P.C. (Minister for Public Works). The Hon. William D. Euler, P.C. (Minister of National Revenue).

Substitutes.—The Right Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster, G.C.M.G., B.A., D.C.L., LL.D. (Senator). The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former Senator, Minister in France). Miss Agnes C. Macphail, M.P. Mr. Malcolm McLean, M.P. Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations).

CHILE.—His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambassador at Rome, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chilean Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Luis de Porto-Seguro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin). His Excellency M. Jorge Valdès-Mendeville (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels and Berne).

CHINA.—His Excellency Dr. Chao-Chu Wu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Member of the Government Council, former Chairman of the Judicial Council, former Mayor of Canton). His Excellency Général Tsiang Tso-ping (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin and Vienna, former Member of the Government Council, former Vice-Minister for War, former President of the Anhui Provincial Government). His Excellency M. Kao-Lou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, Member of the Council of Education, former Member of the Kiangsu Provincial Government).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—Dr. Woo Kaiseng (Director of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations, former Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Lone Liang (Counsellor at the Legation in Berne). Dr. Scié Ton-Fa (Secretary of the Legation in Paris).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Luis Samper Sordo (Permanent Colombian Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

Substitute.—M. Rafael Bernal Jimenez (First Secretary of the Legation at Berne).

CUBA.—His Excellency M. Rafael Martinez Ortiz (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Orestes Ferrara (former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ambassador at Washington). His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). (In the absence of M. Ortiz, M. Ferrara will be President of the Delegation, M. de Agüero y Bethancourt will become second delegate and M. de Blanck third delegate.)

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Carlos Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Ramiro Hernández Portela (Counsellor of Legation).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Eduard Benes (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency M. Zdeněk Fierlinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—Dr. Vladimir Slavik (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. Th. Stauning (Prime Minister). His Excellency Dr. Peter Munch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Count Carl Moltke (Chamberlain, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Laust Moltesen (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. F. J. Borgbjerg (Minister for Public Education, Member of the Chamber of Deputies. (During M. Stauning's stay at Geneva, Dr. Moltesen acted as substitute delegate. During Dr. Munch's stay at Geneva, M. Borgbjerg acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—Le Pasteur Th. Povlsen (former Minister for Religion). M. Holger Andersen (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Count E. Reventlow (Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Georg Cohn (Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. W. Borberg (Permanent Danish Representative accredited to the League of Nations). Mlle. Henni Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women, Member of the Central Administration of the International Council of Women). M. Otto Wadsted (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—His Excellency M. Maximo Vasquez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

ESTONIA.—His Excellency M. Jaan Lattik (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). General Johan Laidoner (former Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Army). M. Jaan Tônisson (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, former Prime Minister). (In the event of M. Lattik's absence from Geneva, General Laidoner will act as President of the delegation.)

Substitute.—M. Auguste Schmidt (Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs).

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar J. Procopé (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Erich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Rudolf Holsti (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Finnish Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. J. V. Keto (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Tilma Hainari. M. Georg Schauman (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Baron Aarno Yrjö-Koskinen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Aarne Vuorimaa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Evald Gyllenbögel (First Secretary of Legation).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Labour, Health, Public Relief and Social Insurance). M. Lucien Hubert (Senator, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).

Substitutes.—M. François Labrousse (Senator). M. Robert Sérot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fromageot (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

GERMANY.—The late Dr. Gustav Stresemann (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Carl von Schubert (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Friedrich Gaus (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Count Johann-Heinrich Bernstorff (former Ambassador). Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag). Dr. Ludwig Kaas (Member of the Reichstag, Canon and Domestic Prelate to His Holiness the Pope). Dr. Koch-Weser (former Minister for Justice and the Interior, Member of the Reichstag). Baron Rheinbaben (Member of the Reichstag, former Secretary of State).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. A. Michalakopoulos (Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). M. A. Papadatos (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department). M. A. Andréadès (Member of the Academy of Athens). (During the stay of M. Michalakopoulos at Geneva, M. Andréadès acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—M. Jean Politis (Resident Minister, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. R. Raphaël (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

GUATEMALA.—His Excellency Dr. Carlos F. Mora (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Luc Dominique (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin).

HONDURAS.—M. Froylan Turcios (Consul-General in Paris).

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister). His Excellency General Gabriel Tánczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Baron Joseph Szterényi (former Minister for Commerce).

Substitutes.—Mme la Comtesse Apponyi. His Excellency M. L. Gajzágó (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Alexius de Nagy (former Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Paul de Hevesy (Resident Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). M. Joseph Vészi (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. A. de Egry (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. Etienne de Görgey (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. J. Lakatos (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Count François Hunyadi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

INDIA.—Sir Muhammad Habibullah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt. (Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council). Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. Sir W. Ewart Greaves (late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta).

Substitutes.—Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, K.C.S.I. (former Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay). Sir Geoffrey L. Corbett, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (former Secretary in the Department of Commerce). Syed Raza Ali, C.B.E. (Member of the Public Service Commission).

IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Patrick McGilligan (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Mr. John M. O'Sullivan (Minister for Public Education). Mr. John A. Costello (Attorney-General).

Substitutes.—Mr. Sean Lester (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations). Mr. Sean Murphy (Assistant Secretary of the Department for External Affairs).

ITALY.—His Excellency Professor Vittorio Scialoja (Minister of State, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Longare (Minister of State, Ambassador, Vice-President of the Senate). His Excellency M. Edmondo Rossoni (Minister of State, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—His Excellency General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Ricigliano (Senator). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Senator). M. Alessandro Sardi, Baron di Revisondoli (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Cesare Tumedei (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Dino Alfieri (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Augusto Rosso (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Massimo Pilotti (Counsellor at the Court of Cassation). M. Giuseppe Gallavresi.

JAPAN.—His Excellency M. Mineitcirô Adatci (Ambassador to France, Permanent Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Acadamy of Japan), His Excellency M. Tsuneo Matsudaira (Ambassador to Great Britain). His Excellency M. Matsuzo Nagai (Ambassador to Belgium).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Isaburo Yoshida (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Naotake Sato (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office). His Excellency M. Koki Hirota (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Netherlands). His Excellency Viscount Kintomo Mushakoji (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden). M. Nobumi Ito (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Antons Balodis (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Vilis Schumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, Madrid and Lisbon). His Excellency M. Charles Duzmans (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade).

Substitutes.—Dr. Paul Schiemans (Member of the Saiema). M. Jules Feldmans (Head of the Western Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Counsellor of Legation).

LIBERIA.—Dr. Antoine Sottile (Doctor of Law, Chargé d'Affaires, Permanent Delegate of Liberia accredited to the League of Nations).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency Professor A. Voldemaras (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. V. Sidzikauskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin) Mme. S. Ciurlionis.

Substitute and Secretary-General.—M. L. Dymsa (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the city of Luxemburg).

Substitutes.—M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva). M. Albert Wehrer (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency le Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency le Jonkheer J. Loudon (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Hendrik Colijn (Minister of State, former Minister, Member of the First Chamber of the States-General). Le Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden). (During Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland's stay at Geneva, Jonkheer van Eysinga acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General). M. E. Heldring (President of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam). Raden Adipati Ario Achmad Djajadiningrat (former Regent of Batavia, Member of the Committee of Deputies of the "Volksraad" of the Netherlands Indies). M. W. G. van Wettum (Government Adviser for International Opium Question).

Secretary and Substitute.—Mme. C. A. Kluyver (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

NEW ZEALAND.—The Hon. Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London, former Minister for Education and Justice, former Postmaster-General).

Substitutes.—Mr. C. Knowles. Mr. C. B. Burdekin.

NICARAGUA.—Dr. Francisco Torres Fuentes (Member of the Nicaraguan Supreme Court of Justice). His Excellency M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Minister in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—His Excellency M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo). M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Storting, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Storting).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). (After M. Mowinckel's departure from Geneva, Dr. Lange acted as delegate.) M. P. L. Kolstad (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Ingeborg Aas (Doctor of Medicine). Dr. Arnold C. Raestad (Lawyer, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

PANAMA.—His Excellency M. J. D. Arosemena (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

PARAGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Ramon V. Caballero de Bedoya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

PERSIA.—His Highness Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi (Ambassador to Turkey, former Prime Minister). His Excellency Mirza Hussein Khan Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister). His Excellency Anouchirevan Khan Sépahbody (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Seyed Hassan Tagizadeh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Colonel Ali Khan Riazi (Military Attaché in Paris). Dr. Parwiz Khan Kitabgi (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PERU.—His Excellency M. Mariano H. Cornejo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). M. Augusto Leguia Swayne (Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwic (Vice-President of the Senate, former Minister for Commerce and Industry).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. Witold Chodzko (Director of the State School of Hygiene at Warsaw, former Minister for Health). Professor Michel Rostworowski (former Chancellor of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague). His Excellency Miroslaw Arciszewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Riga). His Excellency M. Marjan Szumlakowski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Bureau of the Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Adam Tarnowski (Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director-General of the Portuguese League of Nations Service). (In the event of the presence of His Excellency General A. Ivens Ferraz, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, at Geneva during the Assembly, he will act as President of the Delegation.) His Excellency M. J. C. Franco Frazao, Count de Penha Garcia (former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency Dr. Vasco de Quevedo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and accredited to the League of Nations).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Georges Mironesco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Constantin Antoniade (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. J. Lugosianu (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department). Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Acadamy). M. George Crisan (Doctor of Law, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Victor Marc (Doctor of Law, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency M. Francisco A. Lima (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington).

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency M. Voïslav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Jelko Majouranitch (Minister Unattached). His Excellency M. Ilïa Choumenkovitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. André Gosar (former Minister for Social Insurance, Professor at the University of Ljubljana). M. Constantin Fotitch (Director-General of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Général Michel Nenadovitch.

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Varnvaidya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Phya Vijitavongs Vudhikrai (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Eric Hendrik Louw (High Commissioner in London, Minister Plenipotentiary Designate to the United States of America). Mr. Daniel Johannes de Villiers (Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Europe, Minister Plenipotentiary Designate to the Netherlands).

SPAIN.—His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Eduardo Cobián (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in Paris, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Leopoldo Palacios-Morini (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Madrid, Director of the Social School). His Excellency M. Julio Casares (Member of the Royal Spanish Academy).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. E. Trygger (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Baron E. Marks de Würtemberg (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the Svea Court of Appeal). M. R. J. Sandler (former President of the Council of Ministers, Senator, Director-in-Chief of the Central Statistical Office).

Substitutes.—M. A. F. Enström (Director of the Royal Swedish Academy of Scientific Industrial Research). Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. K. I. Westman (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Political Department). M. Gottfried Keller (Member of the Council of States). M. Hermann Schüpbach (Member of the National Council).

Substitutes.—M. William Rappard (Professor at the University of Geneva). M. Roger Dollfus (Member of the National Council).

Substitute and Expert.—M. Walter Stucki (Director of the Commercial Division in the Department of Public Economy).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). Dr. Eduardo Rodriguéz Larreta (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. José G. Antuna (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).

Substitute.—His Excellency Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

Secretary-General.—M. Adolfo Sienra.

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency Dr. José Gil-Fortoul (former President of the Republic). His Excellency Dr. Diogenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency Dr. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome).

Substitutes.—M. J. M. Hurtado-Machado (Counsellor of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires in Berne). M. Enrique Gil-Fortoul (former Attaché at the Legation in Paris).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Question of Intellectual Co-operation.*

I.—WORK OF THE COMMITTEE AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation has arrived this year at a turning-point in its brief history. Following the normal course of every enterprise, its first years were devoted, on the one hand, to exploring this vast field of co-operation in science, letters, art, education and intellectual rights, and, on the other, to endeavouring to obtain in these various directions certain partial results, some of which have been achieved, whilst others have met with obstacles. There may be some reason to fear that, in the zeal aroused by the enormous interest of the subject, more work was undertaken than it was possible to carry through. A systematic revision of all the work in progress, therefore, seemed advisable. The object of this revision is to improve the working and organisation of both the Committee and the executive organs dealing with intellectual co-operation in order to satisfy the aspirations which are becoming universal; for, as the Chairman and the *Rapporteur* of the Committee observed in 1929, "intellectual co-operation has made constant progress in the world during the last two or three years. On all sides one sees this co-operation appear as one of the most characteristic needs of our time." This idea of revising the work which was put forward by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation last year, when it instructed the Institute and the Secretariat to draw up a complete table of the resolutions adopted since the beginning, has taken definite form this year.

It is advisable, however, before examining the resolution adopted by the Committee on this subject, to review briefly the normal work of the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation since the last Assembly.

The plenary Committee examined with its usual care the resolutions of its four Sub-Committees, which had discussed the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and prepared its programme for the following year. These resolutions, sometimes a trifle extravagant, are in any case too numerous to be mentioned individually here; the following may be cited as of particular interest.

A.—*University Relations.*

(1) Periodical meetings, such as those of the representatives of University Information Offices, of representatives of Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations, &c.

(2) The important scheme for a meeting of the directors of higher education in various countries.

(3) The encouragement given to the plan for an international congress of professors of modern languages and modern civilisation, which the Hungarian Government proposes should be held at Budapest.

B.—*Science and Bibliography.*

The development of international co-ordination of libraries; the co-ordination of the bibliography of the various sciences.

C.—*Letters.*

The publication of translations of the Latin-American classics, with the help of subsidies provided by the States concerned—an undertaking which will be of the greatest value in making other continents better acquainted with the increasingly important contributions of this part of the world to modern culture.

D.—*Art.*

The development of the work of the International Museums Office, both in the field of museography and in that of the co-ordination of museums. We may here recall the success of the International Congress of Popular Arts held at Prague in October 1928 and of the International Exhibition of Casts, organised recently by this Office, thanks to the hospitality of the City of Cologne.

E.—*Intellectual rights.*

The decision taken by the International Committee—which deserves the particular attention of the Assembly—to ask the International Institute of Intellectual Co operation, in conjunction with the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law at Rome and of the International Bureau at Berne, to study the expediency of reaching a general understanding for unifying the rules relating to the rights of authorship as determined by the Conventions of Berne and of Havana relating to these questions.

The plenary Committee further approved the publication begun this year of the review entitled *La Coopération intellectuelle*, which records, in addition to the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, all matters of importance concerning the movement for intellectual co-operation in different countries. It approved the proposal of the Institute on the subject of intellectual statistics.

The representatives of most of the National Committees met before the session of the plenary Committee. This meeting—the second of its kind—must be considered a very useful means of contact and co-operation between the intellectual circles of various countries and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Both the representatives of the National Committees themselves and the International Committee would like to see these meetings become of regular occurrence, and the International Committee will do its best to bring this about.

The National Committees held a very useful discussion on their methods and constitution and on the means of rendering effective their co-operation with the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation. They also made various criticisms both of the programme and of the organisation of the Committee, as well as of the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

These objections, the criticisms made in various quarters, and the suggestions contained in a memorandum by the Chairman of the International Committee confirmed the Committee in its resolve to proceed without delay to the general survey of the situation mentioned at the beginning of this report. In view of the impossibility of dealing with the matter itself during the course of the session, the Committee resolved to constitute a Committee of Enquiry, composed principally of its own members, but with the addition of a few other qualified persons. The Committee, whose duties it will be to examine all the opinions expressed and suggestions made, will present to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation a report containing proposals for improvements in the programme and work of the Committee and the organisations connected with it, with a view to increasing the positive results of their work.

The proposal for this Committee of Enquiry was approved by the Council on 31st August 1929, but was not provided for in the budget communicated to Members of the Assembly at the beginning of June. In order that this proposal may be carried out, the Fourth Committee has approved the credit of 40,000 francs entered for this purpose in the supplementary budget.

One of the special branches of the Committee's work which has from the outset aroused great interest is that of instructing young people in the aims of the League. The Sub-Committee of Experts established for this purpose has not met since 1927; in view of the progress achieved in this matter and the replies to the Secretary-General's circular letters, the Committee feels that this Sub-Committee should be convened in 1930 to prepare a fresh plan of compaign in the light of the important results already obtained.

Attention should be drawn to the following :—

(1) The reports received from the Governments of States Members setting out all that has been done to acquaint the younger generation with the aims and organisation of the Geneva institutions and accustom this generation to regard international co-operation as the best method of solving the world's difficulties.

(2) The expansion of the Educational Information Centre set up at Geneva and in Paris.

(3) The publication of the handbook which the Secretary-General has been instructed to prepare in order, with the help of the Governments, to place at the disposal of teachers an adequate description of the aims and organisation of the League of Nations. This handbook has everywhere been very well received. The Second Committee unanimously congratulated the Secretary-General on this result, and requested that this publication be given the widest possible circulation. To meet the wishes of many Governments which have asked for a translation to be made under the supervision of the Secretariat, the Fourth Committee has decided to increase by 33,000 francs the credit entered under Article 25 of the budget for printing in this section.

(4) The publication of the *Educational Survey*, as a sort of supplement to the above, the first number of which has just been published.

The Second Committee agreed unanimously that the *Educational Survey* will be extremely useful to teachers, and it approved the decision of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to publish this *Educational Survey* twice, instead of once, annually. The Fourth Committee agreed to grant a supplementary credit of 5,000 francs for this publication.

II.—International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

The International Educational Cinematographic Institute established by the League of Nations as a result of the Italian Government's generous offer was inaugurated in the presence of His Majesty the King of Italy on 5th November 1928. The Governing Body, which consists at present of 15 persons chosen from among all the nations of the world, including nationals of States non-Members as well as of States Members of the League, held its first session at Rome under the presidency of M. Alfredo Rocco, immediately after the inauguration of the Institute. The Governing Body drew up the General and Administrative Regulations for the Institute on the basis of the Organic Statute approved by the Council of the League and by the Italian Government, and also the Financial Regulations. The main object of the first of these documents is to define the aims, spirit and methods of the new institution, and to encourage the production and distribution of educational films, bearing in mind the necessity of working, in the spirit of the League, to promote mutual understanding among the nations.

The methods employed are those already approved by other organs of the League: co-ordination of efforts, international co-operation on the basis of the work accomplished in each country. The Governing Body has refrained from building up the International Cinematographic Institute on any rigid lines, as it intends first to explore the ground and collect the necessary information. Consequently, after preparing the two documents mentioned above, it instructed the Director of the Institute to establish relations with official bodies and private organisations whose aims concord with those of the Institute.

The Governing Body also appointed the members of the Permanent Executive Committee and the Budget Committee, as well as the Director of the Institute.

The Permanent Executive Committee has met twice in conformity with the Statutes and has made those appointments which are essential for carrying on the ordinary work of the Institute. At each of its two sessions it has listened to a detailed report by the Director on the progress of the work. A circumstantial report on the work of the Permanent Executive Committee will be submitted to the next meeting of the Governing Body in October.

Annex II.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation.*

The reports on the work of the Health Organisation which have been submitted this year to the Assembly prove that this Organisation has faithfully adhered to the policy which it had adopted to avoid dispersal of effort and concentrate its attention on certain problems of international hygiene. It has refrained from repeatedly launching out into new inquiries, but during the past years has gone very thoroughly into the questions already before it, so that the various health administrations might benefit thereby.

Before entering into details, I must inform you that the Rockefeller Foundation is prepared to continue its generous assistance to the Health Organisation and has concluded a new agreement with the Council by which it undertakes to place at the disposal of the Health Committee for a period of five years from 1st January 1930 an annual subsidy equal to the total grant which the Health Organisation was already receiving this year for certain phases of its work, and for the extension of the work it does through the Singapore Bureau.

The Assembly will doubtless wish to direct attention to this generous assistance, which is not only a recognition of the value of the League's health work, but also secures effective co-operation with a great American institution.

I do not propose to recapitulate the data contained in the annual reports ; I will merely quote a few examples in order to illustrate the Health Organisation's methods of work.

1. Let us take, for instance, the problem of syphilis. In 1924 the Health Committee, by means of preliminary inquiries, ascertained that the diagnosis of syphilis by blood-tests was not, owing to the different methods employed, of equal value in different countries, and that consequently it was more likely to mislead a practitioner than to give him a reliable guide. The matter was therefore submitted to a group of experts of acknowledged authority, who, after minute laboratory research, met at Copenhagen to study in detail the characteristics of the various methods of diagnosis. Further progress was achieved ; last year another meeting of the same experts reached conclusions which will enable laboratory workers and practitioners to employ these various methods with full knowledge of the facts. The work of the Health Organisation on syphilis accordingly began with a study of diagnosis.

Having compared the various methods of diagnosis, the Health Committee were led to compare the value of a group of remedies generally known under the name of Salvarsan and its derivatives.

The use of these preparations inaugurated the modern methods of treatment of a disease the effects of which upon the well-being of humanity are known to all. They can, however, only be employed in doses and under conditions determined by experimental study. Here, again, thanks to very minute laboratory work, followed by meetings and conferences of specialists, the Health Committee has secured agreement among the experts. At present, the International Standard is kept in the official institutes at Frankfort, London, and Washington ; these institutes, on behalf of the Health Committee, place the standard preparation at the disposal of any administration which so requests, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the efficacy and safety of the preparations manufactured in its own country are equivalent to those of the international standard.

It may therefore be said that the Health Organisation has done much to bring into use effective non-toxic remedies in the campaign against syphilis throughout the leading countries of the world.

Last year, on the basis of new methods of diagnosis and with the assistance of remedies of known value, the Health Organisation began to consider what methods of treatment since the war had given the best results. In recent years, there has been much discussion concerning the results obtained in the treatment of this disease. It had been hoped that the great efforts made with new remedies would bring about a very appreciable decrease in the number of cases. This was actually so for a few years, but latterly doubts have been expressed as to the value of the treatment and the decrease in incidence.

After the last session of the Assembly the Health Committee set on foot inquiries into this subject in university clinics and dispensaries in Germany, Denmark, the United States of America, France, and Great Britain. The results of the analysis of about 50,000 cases will be known towards the end of this year. The results of this inquiry should prove of great value in the fight against this terrible disease.

Had I to summarise this chapter in one sentence, I should say that, having compared national experiments on the diagnosis of syphilis and the value of remedies, the Health Committee hopes to reach certain practical conclusions concerning methods of treatment which may be placed at the disposal of the health services of all countries.

2. The same method has been followed in connection with the inquiry into infant mortality. This inquiry, first suggested by the Netherlands Delegation, was entrusted to experts drawn from seven European countries. After preliminary investigations, these experts have, during the last few years, studied in 27 districts the medical and social causes of 7,053 deaths among children under 12 months, and 2,356 deadbirths which occurred within a period of 12 months.

This inquiry is now finished. Conclusions have been drawn which will form the basis for fresh efforts to reduce infant mortality. The inquiry also showed the points which are still obscure and which will have to be made the subject of special investigations ; for example, the fact that, out of every 100 deaths among children under one year, 18 to 34 occurred during the first eight days of life.

These inquiries have largely contributed to stimulate interest in the districts studied.

Similar investigations instituted in four countries of Latin America (Argentine, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay) have also been completed and a general report will be submitted early next year.

The inquiry has also aroused keen interest in Denmark, and investigations on the same lines are being carried out. The Spanish and Roumanian Health Services have applied for the assistance of the Health Organisation for the same purpose. The Roumanian delegate has suggested that a Committee of Investigation should consider the creation of an International Child Welfare Institute, for the purpose of studying the physiological, moral and intellectual development of the child in all countries. The Second Committee believes that, if the Roumanian Government should make a concrete proposal in this direction, it would desire first to submit it for the consideration of the Council, which would doubtless refer it to its advisory committees. Certain South American countries and Japan have done likewise.

The Indian Delegation has expressed the hope that the Health Committee would draw up, with the assistance of its member from India, a programme of investigation regarding this problem, which presents a very great importance for his country. I would therefore propose that the Health Committee should be asked to consider the possibility of complying with this desire.

May I congratulate the Netherlands Delegation on the splendid results that have followed its proposal ? As in the case of syphilis, the proposal has enabled the Health Committee to reach a number of valuable conclusions by comparing the data collected in various countries.

3. The same method has been applied with the same results by the Malaria Commission. This Commission, which was set up in 1923 and consists of the most distinguished malaria specialists, has conducted inquiries in the malarial districts of Europe, North America, and Asia Minor, and, in a series of reports, has formulated a set of principles for directing anti-malaria measures. These principles, which were adopted by a Conference in June 1928, have already served as a guide to various health administrations that have applied to the Commission for assistance.

A few weeks ago a delegation of this Commission landed at Bombay at the invitation of the Indian Government. In conjunction with the health authorities of the various provinces, this delegation will study the programme and results of the anti-malaria measures adopted in India.

These distinguished German, American, Spanish, French, and Dutch scientists will endeavour to establish with the Indian health services and Indian medical associations close and continuous co-operation which will benefit the Malaria Commission and, through it, the services of many other countries. The experience thus gained will be placed at the disposal of all those who are engaged in malaria work throughout the vast territory of India.

4. I would like here to mention the gratification of my Government at noting that its proposal to invite the Health Committee to consider how contact could be established between the various health services and sickness insurance organisations has been fully carried out. The work of the Joint Commission of Inquiry, set up by the Health Organisation in conjunction with the International Labour Office, has been the starting-point for a close comparison of national experiences and has already led to the preparation of reports of undoubted value and to attempts in various countries to apply the conclusions reached. In my country, for instance, a special mixed committee has been set up to apply a general programme of co-operation between the various services, as suggested by the Joint Commission of the League of Nations Health Organisation and the International Labour Office.

A report of the Health Committee shows that we shall have at our disposal the results of systematic inquiries instituted in the United States of America regarding the important question of the cost of medical care. The Joint Commission is also to give advice in the reorganisation of the health services of Greece.

5. It is a matter for congratulation that the Health Committee has sought the assistance of the International Labour Office, of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Institute of Statistics whenever its work so required.

6. These examples will suffice to show how the results of the Health Committee's various inquiries are applied in the different branches of public health work.

7. The States Members of the League appreciate the opportunity afforded them of availing themselves of the experience acquired by the comparison of different national methods. Thus, in October 1928 the Greek Government sought the Health Committee's assistance in the reorganisation of its health service. This Government, which is undertaking an extensive programme of internal reforms, was confronted with the problem of public health, which is a fundamental factor in the economic restoration of the country.

After examining the programme of health improvement outlined by the Greek Government and after a careful survey of typical areas in Greece which lasted several months, the Health Committee submitted to the Government a series of recommendations on the matters referred to it.

These recommendations relate principally to the establishment and work of a modern Public Health Service, to the training of the personnel of that service, to health instruction, to the campaign against malaria, and to other related questions.

The plan was accepted by the Greek Government, which obtained from the Chambers the legislative sanction required for putting it into force, and for the adoption of all the measures to carry out all the recommendations.

A separate service, bearing the name of "Permanent Hellenic Health Service," will begin work in 1932 or 1933. A new health organisation of the Prefectures will be introduced in the districts selected for the application of the plan, which will extend to six districts during the first year and by about 1934 or 1935 will cover the whole country.

A School of Hygiene and new technical services will be set up at Athens under the name of the "Athens Centre." The duties of this centre will be to train all classes of health personnel, to direct and administer the work carried on in the districts chosen for the application of the plan, and to advise the Government on public health questions.

The Greek Government, in appointing those in charge of the centre, had recourse to foreign experts for three of the professors' posts, one of them as Director of the centre. The new services will therefore be able to give health experts both theoretical and practical training.

The anti-malarial dispensaries established in Macedonia by the Refugees Settlement Commission will also be transferred to the new organisation and converted into modern health centres.

Realising that the carrying out of this plan would necessitate methodical work demanding a great deal of technical preparation, the Greek Government asked that the Health Organisation's Commissions and technical services be placed at its disposal to the fullest possible extent in the subsequent development of the scheme.

The Assembly will, I am sure, desire to pay a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of the Head of the Greek Government, who is prepared to make the necessary financial sacrifices for the complete execution of the plan for the health reorganisation of his country.

The Assembly will appreciate the value of this example of international work. A second example is provided by the Health Organisation's activities in South America. A few weeks ago the President of Bolivia submitted a similar request to the Council of the League, and the latter asked the Health Committee to comply with that request, which involves the sending of an expert of the Health Section to co-operate with the Bolivian Health Administration in studying the reorganisation of its services. Upon the completion of this preliminary work, which will last from six to eight months, the Health Committee will study the position with the Bolivian Administration and will select the expert who is to act as the Administration's adviser for two years.

We shall no doubt be informed of the results at the next Assembly.

8. Lastly, in the course of the year, the Health Ministry of the Chinese National Government invited the Medical Director of the League of Nations to become a member of an International Committee of Technical Advisers.

This appointment opened the way for official co-operation between the Chinese Ministry of Health and the League Health Organisation. The Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent to the Secretary-General on 14th September a telegram stating that the Chinese Government "would welcome a commission of experts from the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to come to China as soon as possible to make a survey on port health and maritime quarantine."

The Secretary-General replied that the Chinese Government's proposal would be transmitted to the Competent League authorities with a view to taking the necessary steps for its execution, and that Dr. Rajchman would reach Nanking early in November with one or two of the Secretariat experts, for the purpose of drawing up a detailed project to be submitted to the Health Committee.

When the Second Committee had terminated its discussions, the Council of the League of Nations considered the telegrams exchanged between the Chinese Foreign Minister and the Secretary-General; in order to complete my report, I quote the following passages from the report presented to the Council by His Excellency M.Quiñones de León:—

> "The Medical Director will probably be consulted in his capacity as a member of the International Advisory Council on the question which the Nanking Ministry of Health may desire to submit to that body; but the main object of his mission will be to consider on the spot, with the competent authorities, a scheme for co-operation with the Health Organisation, and to examine, in the first place, the Chinese Government's proposal regarding port health and maritime quarantine.
>
> "The plan for co-operation, prepared with the competent Chinese authorities, will be considered by the Health Committee on the return of this mission to Europe, and will then at once be submitted to the Council."

The Council was unanimous in expressing its satisfaction to the Chinese representative upon learning of China's application to the League for the co-operation of the latter's technical organisations. The Council will be happy to furnish all the assistance necessary to carry out the great task which China is undertaking in order to secure its own development.

The Assembly will certainly wish to express its own appreciation of the co-operation thus effected, and will doubtless desire that this co-operation shall begin to take effect before its next session. The Assembly will then be interested to learn of the progress made in this work of international understanding and mutual assistance.

9. The Bolivian Government's request concerns all the health problems of that country, but in the study of leprosy the Health Committee will be able to assist many countries of Latin America next year.

At its last session, the Assembly considered the proposal that the Secretary of this Commission should go to South America. During his journey, which has now been concluded, he ascertained the wishes of the health administrations, and has suggested methods of applying them. It also provided an opportunity for discussing with the Governments, the experts and the health departments of all the countries of South America the details of inquiries into leprosy, infant mortality and syphilis, and of other methods of co-operation considered by the Eighth Assembly. The welcome given to the representative of the League is an indication of the interest taken by these countries in the work of the League.

It has thus been possible to arrange for continuous co-operation with the technical departments of the countries visited; the value of the international studies of the Health Organisation will thereby be enhanced and the experience thus acquired will be utilised in the spirit which inspires all the League's work.

This work, which will be done in 1930, will fulfil the programme of co-operation with Latin America contained in a report adopted by the Eighth Assembly. The execution of the first stages of this programme was approved by the last Assembly.

10. The Malaria Commission's journey to India and that of the Medical Director and his experts to China are not the only examples of the Committee's work in the Far East.

The Leprosy Commission's studies must necessarily relate to the two or three main foci of this disease which exist in the world. Once the investigations in Latin America have been organised, the Commission will go on to the countries of the Far East, as decided by the Health Committee at its session in May 1928. The Assembly will learn with interest that the Japanese Government has invited the Leprosy Commission to meet next spring at Tokio. The Secretary of this Commission will continue in certain Far-Eastern countries the studies begun in Latin America and report thereon.

Furthermore the Advisory Council of the Singapore Bureau has accepted the very generous invitation of the Government of the Netherlands Indies to hold its session of February 1930 as the Government's guest at Batavia.

Apart from its duties as Epidemiological Intelligence Centre, the Singapore Bureau acts more and more as the Health Organisation's general agency for the Far East; the Batavia meeting is therefore of particular interest.

I have no doubt that the Assembly desires the Organisation's work in the Far East to be pursued. I need only remind it of the co-operation arranged with the Chinese Government.

The Japanese Delegation has suggested that the Health Committee might include in its programme of work for next year the organisation of an interchange for port health officers of the Far East.

Further, the Indian delegate emphasised the interest which his country felt in the Health Committee's study of rural hygiene, and the value which would attach to a study by health experts of Far-Eastern countries together with experts of Near-Eastern and European countries (where similar sanitary and climatic conditions prevail) of the practical application of a modern health policy.

The Health Committee will doubtless desire to include the study of these questions in its programme of work for 1930.

11. The Committee, at the request of the International Pacific Conference held at Melbourne in December 1926, was instructed to make a preliminary inquiry into health conditions in New Guinea, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands and Fiji. It has completed its work, and its report, containing specific recommendations for a health policy for preserving the races on these islands, will be published shortly.

12. The Annual Report gives details of the action taken as a result of the Second International Conference on Sleeping Sickness, convened by the Council and held in Paris in November 1928.

On this occasion, also, a number of technical recommendations and specific tasks were entrusted to the Health Organisation. Laboratory and experimental work in Equatorial Africa carried out by Belgian, British, French, German, Italian and Portuguese experts have yielded important technical results.

The Governmental Conference in Paris further proposed a serious study of the documents in the possession of colonial administrations with a view to drawing up a health programme, more particularly from the demographic point of view. We await with interest the development of those important inquiries.

13. I must not omit to mention the regular work of the Health Organisation concerning the Epidemiological Intelligence Service and the studies on health instruction which have continued successfully.

The French Delegation desires that a study of influenza should be undertaken by the Health Committee, and also that the Health Organisation should carry out a codification of the results obtained in health instruction, in order to promote thereby the training of a body of specialists. I am sure that the Health Committee will desire to study these points next year.

I would also like to emphasise particularly the great interest attached to the interchanges in Italy during the autumn of 1928, in Denmark and in Holland during the present year, the latter being specially devoted to problems of rural hygiene. It is also observed that an important tour is being arranged in France next year.

14. I must remind you that the Council of the League has referred to the Committee a resolution by the Health Committee with regard to the budget proposals of the Health Organisation for the year 1930. This resolution is as follows :—

> " The Health Committee,
>
> " Having taken note of the budget proposals of the Health Organisation for the year 1930:
>
> " Submits to the Council the desirability of drawing the attention of the Assembly to the fact that normal increases in the salaries of the staff should be taken into consideration in determining the total of the budget, as was the case in the 1929 budget;
>
> " In this connection desires to point out that the stabilisation of the budget of the Health Organisation would otherwise involve a progressive diminution in the credits available for technical studies ; thus, in the budget proposals for 1930, these credits do not amount to more than 62·8 per cent. of the total, whereas for the year 1927 they amounted to 67·5 per cent. though there has been no increase in the personnel employed."

The Health Committee's observations were found by the Second Committee to be very sound.

With regard to the general question, I may be allowed to put before you the facts of the situation.

The Sixth Assembly (1925) fixed the budget of the Health Organisation at a million francs. The Health Committee had examined the situation and declared at the time that this stabilisation could only apply as long as the general budget of the League remained within the 1926 limits and as long as no new work was entrusted to the Committee.

During the past four years, the work of the Health Organisation, approved at each stage by the Council, has rapidly grown. Not only has the Committee undertaken inquiries and examinations—asked for in the Assembly by 13 delegations* and several States Members of the League, but it has, in consequence, had to extend its work more and more to extra-European countries, which, on the score of travel alone, involves very heavy expense.

Subsequent Assemblies have recognised the necessity of this extension of the Committee's work. I would remind you that, on the proposal of the Second Committee, the last Assembly congratulated the Health Organisation " on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries " ; but the Second Committee thought that the time had come for the Assembly to decide whether it wishes this work to continue or whether it should be reduced to proportions which would no longer satisfy in the same degree the requests for assistance submitted by non-European Members of the League.

During the present Assembly we have had fresh proofs of the attachment of those States to the League, both from the political point of view and from the point of view of their material contribution. I am sure that you share my opinion on the general question, and the Second Committee considered that the arguments in regard to the special questions were so strong that the Fourth Committee would desire to increase the credits necessary for the work of the Health Organisation in Latin America and the Far East. The Fourth Committee did actually grant these requests, recognising that, should the Assembly not vote the supplementary credits needed for the proposed programme of work, the result would be a delay of at least 12 months, which would be very regrettable, not only for the work itself but on general grounds. It is strongly in the interests of the League to show that its help is equally at the disposal of all its Members. It should also give proof of its desire to see the execution of work approved by the Council.

ANNEX III.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee.*

The work done during the year in the financial field, either by the Financial Committee itself or under its direction, falls into two categories : one dealing with subjects of a general character, i.e. those which are not peculiar to any particular country ; the other with work done for special States.

* 1925 : Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Paraguay, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Venezuela ; 1926: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay ; 1928 : Finland, Poland, Sweden.

The questions of a general character dealt with this year are: the purchasing power of gold; counterfeiting of currency and of other bills and securities; double taxation; the scheme for financial assistance in case of war or threat of war; the publication of monetary and banking laws, &c.

Work for particular countries was done in connection with Greece, Bulgaria, the Saar Territory, Estonia, Danzig, Austria, and Hungary.

I will not try to give in this report a complete review of all this work. Such a review is given in the general report on the work of the League since the last Assembly. Let me merely make some comments upon a few points of special interest.

I would like in the first place to make one general remark upon the change which is taking place in the character of the Committee's work. During the last year, no new responsibility has been accepted for any work either of financial reconstruction or the establishment of refugees (the two categories of problems which for the six years following the Austrian reconstruction scheme constituted almost the whole work of the Committee). There has, of course, been a good deal of work in connection with tasks of this kind begun in earlier years. But the main interest of the year consists in the assumption of work of quite a different kind.

The fact is (and we may congratulate ourselves that it is so) the stage of financial reconstruction of the kind needed in 1922 and the following years is passing or past. New developments take place; new needs arise; new institutions are planned or established in the financial as well as in every other sphere of the world's activity. And amid this rapid change we must expect that the work most appropriate for the Financial Committee will change also, adjusting itself to the needs of the time, supplementing and co-operating with other institutions, adapting its own methods as the new work requires. A good illustration is the question of the purchasing power of gold.

Purchasing power of gold.—This question of the purchasing power of gold is without any doubt a problem of the greatest importance. The fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold react on the level of prices and thus on the economic well-being of all countries of the world.

In certain circumstances, they may bring the most serious economic disturbances in their train. It is therefore fortunate that the League of Nations is examining the problem. It is indeed so vast, so complex and so fraught with difficulties that no nation alone could tackle it; only an international inquiry well prepared and methodically carried out, such as the League of Nations is able to arrange, could contribute materially to the solution of the problem.

During the year under review, the inquiry has been started. In agreement with the Council, the Financial Committee has appointed a delegation from amongst its own members, to which certain other experts of international authority have been added. The delegation is partly composed of persons who are, or recently have been, at the head of Central Banks, persons connected with other branches of finance, and certain economists known all over the world. Its terms of reference are: "to examine and report upon the causes of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold and their effect on the economic life of the nations." The delegation held its first preliminary meeting at Geneva during the last month, and on that occasion drew up a programme of work.

Fiscal Committee.—Upon the recommendation of the general meeting of Government Experts on Double Taxation and Tax Evasion, at which 27 Governments were represented, the Council decided in December last to create a Fiscal Committee, whose special task it will be to study taxation questions and advise the Council in regard to them; in particular, all questions connected with double taxation and tax evasion. This Fiscal Committee forms a new technical organ of the League. I would like to draw your attention to some special features of its organisation, which may be a useful precedent in other cases.

Two conflicting interests had to be met: on the one hand, the membership of the Committee had to be kept relatively small so as to make it an efficient and workable instrument. On the other hand, it is essential for the success of the Committee's work that it should be in contact with the taxation administrations of as many countries as possible. The following solution has been adopted: The Committee consists of 12 regular members, appointed by the Council for a period of three years, and representing as far as possible the various fiscal systems of the world. The Council may further appoint corresponding members—who will be kept informed of all the Committee's work—in all countries from which it has not appointed regular members. The Council has already, at its sessions of June and September, appointed some 20 corresponding members, all high officials in the various Departments of Finance.

I may add that close contact has been arranged with the Financial Committee. The latter will appoint two members on the Fiscal Committee, and reports of the Fiscal Committee to the Council will pass through the Financial Committee, which is entitled to add its observations.

During the year under review, the Financial Committee has done a great deal of detailed work, which I can merely enumerate here, with regard to the settlement of refugees in Greece and Bulgaria and the monetary and budgetary situation of those two countries, as well as several others, such as Estonia and the Saar Territory. Work with regard to the problem of refugees in Bulgaria is progressing favourably. The few small difficulties which were bound to arise in connection with work of such scope have fortunately been overcome. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate M. Charron and his colleagues on the work which is now being brought to a successful conclusion.

Liquidation of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission.—There is one other point I would like to mention in this connection, namely, the proposal to wind up the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. The work for the refugees in Greece was begun in 1923 and is now drawing to a close. It has been agreed with the Greek Government that detailed proposals for the termination of the work will be submitted to the Council at its next session.

In this connection, I would draw attention to the fact that on each occasion the League is withdrawing its financial control as soon as it can possibly be done with prudence. You will remember that when, some years ago, the financial supervisory organs in Austria and in Hungary were wound up, many people feared this was premature. The experience of the last few years has shown the groundlessness of those fears, and how correct was the diagnosis of the Financial Committee when, in 1926, it advised the Council that financial control could be abolished.

The question of financial assistance is now being discussed by the Third Committee. Certain objections to the scheme have been put forward, but this is not surprising, since the conception of a war of aggression has not yet been definitely established and a new factor has been introduced by the conclusion of the Paris Pact, condemning war of every description.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the work of the Financial Committee during this year has shown those same qualities of soundness, thoroughness and conscientiousness of detail which have already been commended on several occasions by the Assembly, and I desire to express once again our appreciation of the work done by the Financial Committee and the Financial and Economic Section of the League.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Economic Work of the League of Nations.*

Two years have passed since we, in this same Committee, noted with enthusiastic approval the resolutions of the World Economic Conference.

This expression of the Assembly's opinion was followed by statements on the part of a great number of Governments.

The fundamental idea which emerged from all the reports of the Conference was the desirability of closer co-operation between the various countries in their economic life. The Conference marked a reaction against the exaggerated economic nationalism which arose after the war—on quite comprehensive grounds—and which has unfortunately exercised a detrimental influence on world economy, more particularly on the economic situation of Europe.

The Conference, however, did not recommend, as a remedy, a mere reversion to the situation in 1913 and nothing more. On the contrary, it desired to lead the various nations towards a closer co-operation than that which existed before the war and indicated, as one of the means for attaining that end, the gradual reduction of barriers of every kind, and, in the first place, of excessive Customs barriers.

We are now nearing the end of 1929, and are obliged to admit that, in spite of a few sporadic efforts, no decisive movement has occurred in this direction.

While not wishing to belittle these endeavours, we can hardly regard as a change of policy the adjustments that have been made in treaties of commerce. In the fundamental conception of the commercial policy of States there has up to the present been no change.

In these circumstances, many are wondering with increasing anxiety whether the methods hitherto followed will ever lead us out of the present state of disorder, or whether it would not be preferable to seek new methods.

When, therefore, certain distinguished persons referred recently to Europe's need of economic reorganisation, these allusions found an immediate echo among the most diverse sections of public opinion.

It was natural that this apprehension, arising out of an obscure but powerful impulse, should find expression from the platform of this Assembly. And, while the Prime Minister of Great Britain emphasised the necessity of concluding agreements to increase economic freedom, the speech of the Prime Minister of France clearly brought out the most striking aspects of the European problem.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and first delegate of Germany, dealing more particularly with the technical and economic organisation of the European continent, pointed out the risks due to its subdivision into a very large number of economic units, separated by numerous barriers. He showed how this state of affairs is incompatible with the development of communications and the fundamental needs of a sound organisation of production.

From a similar point of view, but one not limited to the purely European sphere, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and first delegate of Belgium reminded the Assembly of the very important resolution passed by the World Economic Conference, namely, that "the time has come to put an end to the increase of tariffs and to move in the opposite direction"; and it was with the object of carrying out the first part of that resolution that he suggested to the Assembly the idea of a Customs truce which was at once taken up and treated in greater detail by the President of the British Board of Trade.

These various suggestions have been thoroughly discussed in the Second Committee and have ultimately been condensed into a single resolution, which was moved jointly by the delegations of France, Great Britain, and Belgium and adopted by the Second Committee.

It will be observed that this resolution makes no mention of the special difficulties which Europe has to face. It was thought better not to refer to them, so as not to restrict the universal bearing of the resolution. Nevertheless, the anxiety due to these difficulties has on several occasions found expression during the Second Committee's discussions.

On the other hand, the delegations of certain overseas countries and those of certain European countries in whose economic structure agriculture plays a preponderant part and whose industries are not yet adequately developed, laid stress on the fact that, in any attempt to study Customs tariffs, it was necessary, in order to keep in close touch with realities, to bear in mind the differences, sometimes very great, in the stage of economic development reached by different countries.

Each Government will of course consider the circumstances and special conditions of its own country and will exercise its free discretion as to whether it desires to associate itself with an arrangement for a Customs truce, and during the period of that truce to enter into negotiations with a view to establishing a first collective agreement designed to strengthen and facilitate economic relations by any means that may seem practicable, and more particularly by the lowering of Customs barriers and the reduction of impediments to trade.

If results of practical value are to be attained, it seems desirable that only those States should take part in the contemplated negotiations which, having regard to their special economic position, think that the suggested measures may allow of a fair balance between the sacrifices they would be prepared to make and the advantages they might secure.

We shall thus have the following stages:—

(*a*) Invitation to all States Members of the League and non-Member States to intimate, before 31st December 1929, whether they desire or not to take part in a Diplomatic Conference with a view to the conclusion of a tariff truce and, if necessary, to the establishment of a programme of subsequent negotiations with a view to the conclusion of collective agreements for facilitating economic relations by all practicable means and especially by reducing hindrances to trade.

(*b*) On the basis of the replies received to the above invitation, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide, taking into account the number and character of the States having replied in the affirmative, whether the Diplomatic Conference referred to in para. (*a*) should be held.

This Conference should then be held at a date as near as possible to the end of January 1930.

(*c*) Diplomatic Conference of representatives of States which have replied in the affirmative to the invitation referred to in para. (*a*).

(*d*) Negotiations referred to in para. (*a*) extending over a fairly long period between the States which have concluded a tariff truce. The latter may by common agreement invite any other State wishing to do so to take part in these negotiations.

(*e*) Final Diplomatic Conference to take note of the results of the negotiations referred to above, to examine them and, if necessary, to supplement them.

To this Conference all States without distinction will be invited.

It is necessary to mention that a number of States made it clear that they could not take part in negotiations for a Customs truce.

The reasons which dictated this attitude were in some cases the special economic circumstances imposed by the geographical position of the respective countries and in other cases the fact that their industrial development had not yet reached an advanced stage.

Furthermore, the Committee wishes forthwith to draw the attention of the final Diplomatic Conference provided for above to the following passage of the report of the Economic Consultative Committee of May 1929:—

> ". . . account should always be taken of the provisos and reservations necessary to meet the just demands of States which are still at an early stage of their industrial evolution and do not wish their free development to be hampered."

We may mention that the discussion brought into strong relief the conviction that negotiations for an economic rapprochement must not be left entirely in the hands of technical experts, but that, on the contrary, it is essential for Governments to participate more directly than they have hitherto done.

The work of the Economic Organisation during the past years represents a most valuable attemp to accomplish by new methods some progress in the realisation of the principles laid down by the Economic Conference of 1927. These principles concern the following questions:—

A. – COMMERCE.

1. In a concise but substantial document, the Economic Committee has stated certain fundamental principles of present commercial policy. Called upon to choose between the two systems of the non-reducible tariff and the tariff reducible by negotiation, the Economic Committee wisely replied that the question of method is a secondary one, and that the important point is the level of the duties and the readiness of all parties to adapt themselves to the requirements of others.

The field of application, the scope of the most-favoured-nation clause, and the exceptions allowable under this clause, have often been interpreted in widely different ways. The Economic Committee has proposed a coherent doctrine which should certainly help to eliminate the causes of disputes.

The Committee has also agreed on a model formula for the clause which it recommends all countries to adopt. Two points, however, call for special mention: (1) The Committee's inquiry has been limited to Customs matters, and has not covered the application of the clause to other commercial conditions, as recommended by the World Economic Conference. (2) The problem of the interdependence of collective conventions and bilateral treaties has not yet been solved.

This problem arises in the following form: Can third States claim, as an indisputable right on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause, benefits arising under an agreement concluded under the auspices of the League between a considerable number of nations in the interests of world economic progress?

The Economic Committee has expressed the opinion that States would not be acting in a manner contrary to the recommendations of the World Economic Conference if they agreed to insert in their bilateral treaties, founded on the most-favoured-nation clause a reservation to the effect that the clause inserted in those bilateral conventions would not apply to collective conventions such as those referred to above.

But what would happen if a State refused to conclude a bilateral treaty including such a reservation? Are the reduced duties mutually granted by parties to a multi-lateral agreement applicable only to these parties, or may a third State claim the benefits on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause? That is a question for international law.

The doctrines laid down in this report of the Economic Committee have been communicated by the Council to the various States. It is to be hoped the latter will give the Council their opinion on the solutions proposed by the Committee.

2. The International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, which the last Assembly noted has up to the present been signed by 29 countries, including the United States of America.

In order to come into force, the Convention must be ratified before the end of September 1929 by at least 18 States. Every State is entitled to make the application of the Convention in its own case conditional upon ratification by one or more of the 14 countries specified in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement.

Up to the present, only 12 States have deposited the instruments of ratification. Although other ratifications may be hoped for before the expiry of the time-limit on 30th September 1929, it is still improbable that the figure of 18 will be reached by then; the Second Committee, therefore, thinks it desirable that the Assembly should address an urgent appeal to all the Governments concerned to do all that lies in their power to ensure that the Convention may nevertheless enter into force before 1st January 1930, the date specified in the Convention.

It would be extremely regrettable for the economic work of the League if this important collective agreement were not to come into force owing to lack of ratifications, seeing that its object is to restore to international trade—particularly as regards the circulation of raw materials—that freedom and security which it enjoyed before the war.

3. With regard to the export regime for raw hides, skins and bones, the agreements signed in July 1928 will come into force on 1st October next, following the agreement concluded on 11th September 1929, between 17 signatory States.

This satisfactory result is due to the undertaking given by eight of those States not to avail themselves of the maximum export duty on bones which had been allowed to them.

These Agreements put an end to import and export prohibitions in respect of hides, skins and bones, abolish export duties on hides and skins, and fix maximum rates for export duties on bones. They thus constitute the first collective agreement on Customs matters since the war, and their importance far exceeds that of the commodities to which they refer, since they may be regarded as a small first step towards the realisation of one of the principal aims of the International Economic Conference of 1927, namely, the gradual lowering of Customs barriers by collective action.

4. The Economic Committee is also continuing its work in this direction by means of inquiries into the Customs regime for certain groops of goods.

In this field the Economic Committee has encountered serious difficulties. The weak points in the method, which consists in examining one after the other the duties applying to a given group of articles, were frankly stated in the Consultative Committee's last report, which recommended "that business conferences representative directly of the producers, traders and consumers of somewhat more comprehensive groups of articles should be arranged," and suggested that, if possible, the first commodity group to be selected should be "one of substantial importance not only to industry, but also to agriculture, such, for instance, as agricultural implements and machinery." In view of this suggestion, the Economic Committee proposes to study the question.

5. International co-operation in the economic sphere would be useless if, while facilitating the exchange of goods, it did not, at the same time, consider the question of ensuring for foreigners and foreign undertakings the freedom and security necessary for exercise of every form of economic activity. We shall therefore follow with close interest the discussions of the Diplomatic Conference which is to meet at Geneva on 5th November next, to consider the draft Convention on the treatment of persons and companies permitted to establish themselves in foreign territory.

This draft, to the preparation of which the Economic Committee had devoted years of toil, tends, as a whole, to grant to foreigners and foreign undertakings a treatment as far as possible equal to that enjoyed by nationals. Its adoption would certainly constitute considerable progress in international economic relations and would at the same time mark the application by international agreement of the Council's recommendations to the various countries in 1923 and 1925.

6. The business world is keenly interested in all steps tending to facilitate the circulation of instruments of credit. It will doubtless be glad to learn that an international conference has been convened for 17th February 1930, on the basis of the drafts prepared by the Economic Committee. The main objects of this conference are to harmonise the various laws of what is known as the "continental" type relating to bills of exchange and cheques, and to settle the conflict of laws to which the disparity of national laws might give rise. Even the partial unification of the rules of law on this subject would be an obvious gain to the business world.

7. The Sub-Committee of Experts entrusted with preparing a unified Customs nomenclature deserves to be congratulated on the work it has already accomplished. It has proved that the work can be carried out, but experience has already demonstrated how difficult is the task.

Nevertheless, this unified nomenclature would constitute a valuable basis for the success of the negotiations about to be opened as a result of the Franco-British proposal; the Second Committee insists very strongly that the work of the experts should be pushed on with all possible speed in order that the complete draft may be terminated before the next session of the Assembly.

The Committee desires to point out that this will not be possible unless the Committee of Experts spends more time on its work than hitherto; it will probably have to sit almost continuously.

8. The Second Committee has noted, not without surprise, that the 1927 Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards has been ratified at the present time by only five Governments. It desires to draw the attention of the States which are parties to the Protocol of 1923—guaranteeing the validity of agreements to submit future differences to arbitration—to the unsatisfactory position in which their nationals may be placed until such time as they also have acceded to the Convention of 1927, which is desired to secure the execution of arbitral awards.

9. This rapid survey of the work accomplished by the Economic Organisation in the sphere of trade would be incomplete if all reference to its important inquiries into the question of indirect protectionism—a roundabout means of raising in the way of international trade barriers as difficult to overcome as excessive Customs duties—were omitted. Mention should likewise be made of the inquiry into the protection of the riches of the sea, research work in connection with the suppression of smuggling and alcohol smuggling in particular, and other work of an essentially technical character.

B.—INDUSTRY.

1. International industrial agreements continue to increase in number and importance. The part they play in economic development, their connection with commercial policy, and the influence they may exercise in international relations deserve our closest attention.

The work of the experts who were instructed to inquire into the legal framework within which these agreements are evolved, and the various forms they may take, are proceeding satisfactorily with the assistance of highly qualified specialists. The experts are not merely collecting the texts of laws, but are endeavouring to determine and define the fundamental principles on which the various types of law are based. The case law which is slowly growing up on the basis of specific decisions, and administrative measures adopted by the various Governments in this domain, also come within their inquiry.

The Economic Committee will shortly be in possession of a documented report on this subject. The report's main value will lie in the light it will throw on the relations between the State and industrial organisations or, in other terms, the economic policy followed by Governments in the face of the phenomenon of industrial combinations. This study must, however, in conformity with the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, be accompanied by parallel research work concerning mainly the economic effects of international industrial combinations.

It is indeed important that the part which international industrial agreements play, or will be called upon to play, either in the economic life of the various countries or as a factor likely to influence international relations, should be clearly defined by impartial and objective studies.

In this connection, it should be observed that the Economic Consultative Committee has stated in its latest report that " cartels have tended to stabilise rather than to modify the tariff position."

It would be desirable that the progress achieved in this work, either in the collection of information on existing international industrial agreements, or more detailed inquiries regarding certain particularly important industrial combinations, should be speeded up, and, with the assistance of experts, completed as soon as possible.

2. The serious problems raised by the present position of the coal industry have been studied in their various aspects by the Economic Committee, which has endeavoured to take into account all the interests concerned.

The Economic Committee organised a meeting of experts on the owners' side belonging both to consuming and producing countries, and continued its inquiry by having recourse to labour experts. The Committee has organised for 30th September a joint meeting of experts acquainted with the views both of producers' and workers' organisations. The main object of the meeting, which will also include experts from consuming countries, will be to discuss the principal ideas in the interim report prepared by the Economic Committee, dealing with the international aspects of the coal problem.

Pending the result of these studies to be carried out by the Economic Committee, the Second Committee, agreeing to the proposal submitted by the French and British Delegations, is of opinion that it would be desirable to invite the International Labour Office to continue without delay the inquiry it has already undertaken into wages, hours and general working conditions in the coal mines.

It consequently proposes to the Assembly that the Assembly should invite the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider including in the agenda of the 1930 Labour Conference the problems referred to above with a view to the conclusion of one or several international conventions on these points.

Moreover, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office is invited to consider the desirability of convening at an early date a preparatory technical conference of representatives of the Governments, employers and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe for the purpose of indicating to the Governing Body the questions connected with working conditions in coal mines which it would, in the Conference's opinion, be most desirable to include in the Agenda of the 1930 International Labour Conference with the object of arriving at a practical international agreement.

In addition, the Second Committee recommends that the Assembly should invite the Council to examine any recommendations which the Economic Committee may put forward as a result of the meeting of experts convened for 30th September, particularly with regard to fluctuations in price and the present difference between production and the consumers' needs and, moreover, to consider, taking into account more especially the results of the above examination, the expediency of convening a conference of the Governments concerned to study these recommendations.

3. After consulting experts of the sugar industry and experts in the production of beet, the Economic Committee submitted to the Council a detailed report on the sugar question as a whole. It is true that the majority of the experts—representatives both of industry and of agriculture—were of opinion that, in existing circumstances, the conclusion of a Convention between States, based on the principles of the Brussels Convention, would not be likely to provide a solution for the crisis. Nevertheless, all were agreed in recognising that the difficulties have been accentuated by the measures taken in many countries to stimulate the production of sugar, without consideration of the effects of their unco-ordinated action on the world situation. The Economic Committee's report states that the difficulties with which the industry is at present beset are such as can to a large extent remedy themselves, but suggests to the Council that the attention of Governments should be drawn to the desirability of ascertaining whether there is any possibility of lowering their excise duties on sugar without adversely affecting their fiscal position.

While awaiting the observations of Governments on this subject, the Economic Committee proposes to continue to observe with attention developments of the sugar question, so as to be able to furnish the Council at any moment with information from which it can "judge whether concerted international action would facilitate the solution of the problems to be dealt with."

The Council will therefore probably have to revert to this question, and in that case it might bear in mind a suggestion by the Second Committee (which appears below) regarding the possible holding of a conference.

C.—AGRICULTURE.

1. The difficulties which agriculturists have to contend with entitle them to special consideration from the League's Economic Organisation.

With a view to ensuring for agricultural interests a more prominent share in this Organisation, the Consultative Committee has proposed the appointment of a certain number of qualified agricultural experts to be associated with the Economic Organisation who could give the Economic Committee technical assistance in studying all general economic problems in which the agricultural factor plays a considerable part.

The Economic Committee, which has received instructions on this matter from the Council, will examine at its next session the most suitable methods of giving effect as rapidly as possible to the Consultative Committee's recommendation.

The relations of the Economic Organisation with the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome have developed normally during the past year and these relations are producing satisfactory results.

2. The work which is being done by the Committee of Experts under the direction of the Economic Committee, with regard to the campaign against the diseases of animals and the application of veterinary regulations, is of equal interest to all countries exporting or importing live stock and animal products. But it is nevertheless necessary that the protection of the health of animals should not constitute an instrument of economic protection.

There is every reason to believe that the conclusions formulated by the experts as regards the organisation of veterinary services and the publication and circulation of health bulletins will receive the unanimous approval of the States concerned.

An agreement on these fundamental questions will constitute a preliminary condition, which will probably make it possible to grant more ample facilities to the international trade in live stock and animal products. This trade can only develop satisfactorily on the basis of reciprocal confidence and closer technical co-operation, with the two-fold object of successfully overcoming the risks connected with this trade and preventing the imposition of restrictions or barriers beyond the limits of the measures regarded by the experts as indispensable and adequate.

3. With regard to the campaign against diseases in plants, the Economic Committee has noted the importance from the point of view of international trade of certain provisions contained in the international Convention concluded in April 1929 at Rome under the auspices of the International Institute of Agriculture.

Before undertaking a more detailed study of the question, the Committee prefers to await an opportunity of considering jointly with the International Institute of Agriculture whether any extension of international action in this matter is desirable and opportune, and in what manner the two organisations might, as may be necessary, allocate the various items of work to be undertaken and carried through.

In view, however, of the desirability of speeding up such work, the Second Committee is proposing to the Assembly a resolution on this subject.

D.—Statistics and Publications.

1. Last year, a hope was expressed that the proposed Statistical Conference would produce important results. The Second Committee is happy to state that this hope has been entirely fulfilled. The Conference was held in November and December last and was attended by the representatives of 42 countries. The International Convention drawn up by the Conference, which has so far been signed by 27 countries, involves definite obligations as regards the scope of economic statistics and the methods to be employed in compiling international trade statistics. The Convention also provides for the adoption of certain guiding principles for the compilation of mineral and metallurgical statistics and fisheries. Lastly, it lays down certain rules concerning the indices of industrial activity and censuses of industrial and agricultural production. It was also decided that a Committee of Experts should be set up to continue the work begun by the Conference.

In recommendation XI of the Final Act of the Conference, the Secretary-General was requested to draw up a list of ports of loading and unloading open to international trade, and to revise this list from time to time. The Second Committee would ask you to adopt a resolution authorising the publication of this list as soon as it has been completed.

It is highly desirable that the Committee of Experts should be put in a position to begin its work, and that all the necessary steps should be taken as soon as possible to give effect to the Convention. It is therefore to be hoped that ratification will be rapidly effected.

2. Lastly, mention should be made of the publications of the Economic Intelligence Service. Since the last session of the Assembly, this Service has issued new editions of the *Memorandum on International Trade and the Balance of Payments* (2 volumes), the *International Statistical Year Book* and the *Memorandum on Production and Trade*; the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* is also published regularly by this Service, which hopes to be in a position to issue very shortly a *Memorandum on Commercial Banks* and a new edition of the *Memorandum on Public Finance.*

The Second Committee would be glad if you would expressly approve the annual publication of the *Memorandum on Production and Trade*, prepared for the first time for the information of the World Economic Conference and which has since become an annual publication for the use of the Economic Consultative Committee. In addition to chapters on production, trade and the movements of populations, this publication now includes an analysis of the relative movements of the prices of raw materials and manufactured commodities. It is thus of particular interest in view of the work upon which the Economic Organisation is at present engaged.

No special mention shall be made of the other publications referred to above. They are becoming more and more comprehensive and complete each year, and now constitute works of reference that are in general use.

The Second Committee hopes that, as a result of the Statistical Conference, the information furnished by national administrations may be so perfected as to enable the League, as proposed by the Australian Delegation, before very long to prepare an annual survey of economic development in which the large number of documents at its disposal are summarised. It accordingly adopted unanimously the resolution on this subject submitted by the Australian Delegation.

A striking tribute to the work of this branch of the Economic and Financial Organisation has been paid by the Rockefeller Foundation through its generous offer, which has already been accepted

by the Council, to place at the disposal of the Organisation a sum of 200,000 Swiss francs for the publication of a collection of the monetary laws and laws on central banks of all countries.

The publication of a collection of this kind has long been contemplated and ample data have already been collected on the subject. The Committee thinks that it is eminently desirable that this important publication should be kept up to date once the original volumes have been issued.

E.—Economic Tendencies capable of affecting the Peace of the World.

Another question to which the Economic Committee has devoted its attention is the inquiry recommended by the World Economic Conference into economic tendencies capable of affecting the peace of the world. The Committee has made certain preliminary consultations with a view to submitting a preparatory report to the Council, on the basis of which an appeal may be made to university institutions throughout the world.

In the course of the discussions at this Assembly, great stress has been laid upon the close relation between the political and economic factors which affect the peace of the world. The Committee confirms the opinion it has expressed in previous years, that this is a question of the highest importance, and hopes that, when the Economic Committee has concluded its preliminary inquiries, the Council will be in a position, during the coming year, to issue an appeal which will have the effect of stimulating general discussions and research.

Annex V.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Draft Convention on Financial Assistance.*

At its last session the Assembly requested the Financial Committee to frame in all its details a complete draft Convention on financial assistance to be submitted to it at its present session.

This recommendation by the Assembly has been fully complied with. I am sure I shall be interpreting the wishes of all the delegations here represented if I first cordially thank the Financial Committee for the exceedingly valuable work it has done.

There is no need for me again to give a survey of the general framework of the Convention. The system of financial assistance proposed is already sufficiently known. It consists, in a word, in the guaranteeing by the other States of a loan to be issued on behalf of a country which is attacked or which is threatened with war. All that is needed at the moment is to bring the work of the present session to a satisfactory conclusion and to give a general survey of the discussions which have taken place.

The questions raised in the Third Committee during the examination of the draft Convention may almost all be classified under two distinct heads: those questions which are clearly financial and technical and those the solution of which depends upon political considerations. These two kinds of questions call for a different procedure.

Let us begin with the financial questions. In the course of discussion, a whole series of suggestions were made, some of them most useful, on clearly technical points; for example, the exclusion from the guarantee, in the interest of the loan, of a State situated in special circumstances, or, again, the establishment of international control over the service of the loan. These suggestions, which are recorded in the Minutes of the Third Committee and which I will refrain from enumerating here, will have to be thoroughly examined from the financial point of view before any final decision can be taken. The Third Committee proposes that they should all be referred to the Financial Committee for examination and report.

The second category of questions comprises problems of a political nature. I will venture to deal briefly with the four questions which I consider the most important.

1. The question which has dominated the whole discussion is that of the cases in which financial assistance may or should be given. This point is dealt with in Article 1 of the draft Convention. The Third Committee was unanimous in declaring that the Council should be able to accord such assistance to a party to the Convention against which another State had, in violation of its international obligations, resorted to war. Many delegations would like to go further and stipulate that in such cases it would be the duty of the Council to accord assistance.

Secondly, many delegations think—contrary to the opinion expressed by others—that the Council should be enabled to render financial assistance in case of a threat of war. These delegations, however, differ widely in their views as to the conditions under which financial assistance should in such a case be given. Some delegations, being of opinion that the rendering of financial assistance before war has broken out is closely connected with the measures which the Council can take to safeguard peace, would like a decision on this question to be reserved until the fate of the Convention on the means of preventing war has been determined; others consider that the two questions can be settled separately.

Owing to the differences of opinion which I have just mentioned, it has not yet been possible to agree on the text of Article 1 of the draft Convention. Annexed to this report will be found the results of the work of a Sub-Committee which had been instructed to propose a new text. The proposals of the various delegations are set forth in this Annex.*

2. The second question is that of the possible connection between the Convention of Financial Assistance and the Disarmament Convention.

Most of the delegations admitted the necessity for such a connection. In order to clarify ideas, the Third Committee drafted an additional article which was adopted on first reading. The exact way in which this article will have to be combined with the other articles of the Convention still remains to be considered. The text is as follows:—

> "The present Convention shall not come into force until a general Disarmament Convention in accordance with Article 8 of the League Covenant has been brought into operation. The present Convention shall cease to have effect as soon as the general Disarmament Convention ceases to be operative.

* Not printed.

"It is also to be a condition that no country which is not a party to such Disarmament Convention, or which shall fail to carry out its obligations under such a Convention, shall be entitled to the benefits of the present Convention."

This last paragraph was referred for examination to the Financial Committee.

3. The third question concerns the stipulations with regard to the vote of the Council, the cases in which unanimity will be required, those in which a simple majority will suffice and, finally, the determination of those States which will not take part in the vote. The majority of the Third Committee held that, in framing these stipulations, it was desirable to follow as closely as possible the exact terms of the Covenant. Accordingly, the following text was adopted on the first reading for the first two paragraphs of Article 26 :—

"(1) Decisions of the Council under Article 1 shall require the agreement of all the members represented at the meeting, other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute.

"(2) All other decisions taken by the Council in virtue of the present Convention shall be taken by a simple majority of the members represented at the meeting other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute."

4. The fourth question relates to the authority which will have to settle disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the Convention. The draft proposes that the questions regarding the execution of the guarantees shall be settled by trustees with a non-suspensive right of appeal to the Council, and that it shall be the Council which in general decides on any question of interpretation or application.

Several delegations proposed the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The suggestion which seemed to gain the approval of the majority of the Committee consists in providing a non-suspensive right of appeal to the Court for all questions of interpretation, the Council deciding upon questions of application. Nevertheless, the Third Committee was of opinion that the financial consequences of this solution should be examined by the Financial Committee.

With regard to the first question, namely, the determination of cases in which financial assistance may or should be given, the differences of opinion are for the moment so wide that it was impossible to reach even a provisional agreement within the very limited time which the Assembly has at its disposal for the discussion of a question of this kind. This does not at all mean that an agreement is impossible ; on the contrary, all the delegations which took part in the debate showed the strongest desire to find a solution and to reach a practical result. The questions at issue, however, are so far-reaching and so complicated that time is required in order to reflect upon them and to examine with the necessary care the pros and cons of the various solutions proposed. Several quite new aspects arose for the first time during the discussions of the last few days. It is impossible to dispose of these difficulties off-hand.

In these circumstances, it soon became apparent that there could be no question of finally adopting the Convention during the present session of the Assembly. On the other hand, to postpone the matter until next year can hardly be considered a satisfactory procedure. Accordingly, the Third Committee proposes that the Committee on Arbitration and Security should be asked to examine the draft Convention and to establish its text in collaboration with the Financial Committee. This text would then be submitted either to a special diplomatic conference or, at the latest, to the next Assembly. This procedure seems to furnish the best guarantees that the details will be well considered, which is an indispensable condition if we are to reach a final agreement.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Progress of the Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.*

During the general discussion in the present Assembly on the work done by the League since its ninth session, a large number of speakers laid particular stress on the importance of the disarmament problem. At the request of the Netherlands representative (Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference), the part of the General Report and Supplementary Report dealing with this grave problem was submitted by the Assembly to the Third Committee. The Third Committee devoted several meetings to examining the state of the work of the Preparatory Commission. At the opening of the discussion, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, representative of the British Empire, submitted the following draft resolution :—

"The Assembly :

"Being convinced that a progressive and general reduction of armaments is urgently needed throughout the world :

"Expresses the hope that the Preparatory Commission will finish its labours at the earliest possible moment ;

"And considers that, in completing the Draft Disarmament Convention, it should consider how far the following principles have been or ought to be adopted :—

"(*a*) The application of the same principles to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material whether in land, sea or air forces ;

"(*b*) The limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training or both ;

"(*c*) The limitation of material either directly by enumeration or indirectly by budgetary limitation or by both methods ;

"(*d*) The recognition of a competent international authority to watch and report upon the execution of the treaty."

In explaining the nature of his draft resolution, Viscount Cecil emphasised the fact that it was not the object of this draft to give instructions to the Preparatory Commission, but only to draw its attention to certain points. Of the four suggestions which the British delegate proposed that the Assembly should submit to the Preparatory Commission, the third, which referred to the limitation of war material, was, in his opinion, the most important. The Preparatory Commission had dealt

with this question, but had been unable to agree on the method of effecting a direct or indirect reduction and limitation of the war material of land forces, and it had merely provided for the guarantee of publicity in regard to expenditure.

M. Loudon (Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference) paid a tribute to the British representative. The Commission's work was held up pending the conclusion of a naval agreement; negotiations were progressing favourably, and the Commission was impatiently awaiting their result so that it might be discussed by a larger body on which the other Powers concerned in the question would also be represented. As regarded the suggestions submitted by the British representative, M. Loudon explained that, according to the Preparatory Commission's programme of work, that Commission was to deal with the problems raised in (*a*), (*b*), and (*d*).

The British draft resolution received in some cases a complete, and in others the partial support of a large number of delegations. A large number of other delegations, however, made every reservation regarding the substance of the questions raised by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, and objected to his proposals on the grounds of procedure and of advisability.

The discussion, in which 18 delegates took part, showed that the Third Committee unanimously agreed that the work of the League should be hastened so as to enable a first step to be taken as soon as possible towards carrying out the programme for the reduction of armaments stipulated in Article 8 of the Covenant. Moreover, the Commission unanimously recognised the importance, for the progress of the Preparatory Commission's work, of negotiations between the principal naval Powers with a view to the reduction and limitation of naval armaments.

The Third Committee thought that it should take note of, but should not vote on, the different opinions expressed at the Committee concerning the principles on which the final work of the Preparatory Commission should be based.

To split the Committee into majorities and minorities would only make the task of the Preparatory Commission and the first General Disarmament Conference more difficult. The only way of solving the disarmament problem would be through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals they preferred, provided, of course, that solutions thus reached were not exclusively negative in effect and that they would result in securing a first application of Article 8 of the Covenant.

Summing up the debate, M. Politis, the Greek delegate, thought that it was only right and proper that the authors of the various declarations made at the Third Committee should be permitted to reiterate them and expound them before the Preparatory Commission. For that reason, in the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by M. Politis the Assembly is asked to decide that the Minutes of the plenary meetings of the Assembly and of the Third Committee regarding disarmament should be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action.

At the request of the Danish delegate, certain resolutions adopted by the twenty-fourth Inter-Parliamentary Conference concerning a technical scheme for the reduction of armaments will be annexed to these Minutes.

At the close of the discussion, the Greek delegate submitted a draft resolution based on the general trend of opinion expressed by different speakers, which was unanimously adopted by the Third Committee.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Model Treaty to strengthen the Means for preventing War.*

The Supplementary Report to the Assembly on the work of the League since the last Assembly deals, among other things, with the model Treaty to strengthen the Means for preventing War. The Ninth Assembly noted this model Treaty and appreciated its importance and declared that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security. That Assembly recommended it for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations, and hoped that it might serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind.

The Secretary-General forwarded this resolution to States Members of the League and to the non-Member States to which had been communicated the General Act and the other model Treaties prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

On 15th July 1929 the Netherlands Government informed the Secretary-General that it had pleasure in declaring itself fully in agreement with the principles of this model Treaty, at the same time making certain observations with regard to the form and substance of the text.

The British representative submitted to the Third Committee a draft resolution inviting the Council to request the Committee on Arbitration and Security to consider the possibility of establishing a draft General Convention on the general lines of the model Treaty, which could be referred to Governments in time to enable them to indicate, at the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly, whether they were prepared to accept it.

In the course of a brief discussion on the British draft, it was pointed out that the Committee on Arbitration and Security, when examining the model Treaty in question, would be able to make the alterations necessitated by the conversion into a general Treaty of a text intended to apply to regional multilateral agreements.

On the other hand certain delegations were of the opinion that the discussion of the draft Convention concerning Financial Assistance had shown that the establishment of a final text on this subject would be greatly facilitated by the preliminary discussion of the methods of application of Article 11 of the Covenant and of a Draft Convention on the means of preventing war.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report by the Third Committee on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War.*

The Assembly referred to the Third Committee the documents communicated to it by the Secretary-General concerning the work of the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft

Convention with regard to the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war. In the report submitted on 31st August 1929 to the Council by the Roumanian representative, the latter drew the Council's attention to the fact that the Special Commission, after endeavouring once more to reconcile the different points of view, had not been able to eliminate certain fundamental differences of opinion. The Council merely noted the report of the Special Commission, with the request that the Secretary-General should communicate it to the Assembly.

The Roumanian delegate proposed to the Third Committee a draft resolution as a result of which, after discussion, the Roumanian, German, French, Japanese, and Netherlands Delegations submitted a joint draft resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee.

This draft again emphasises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission, and the connection, which had already been noted by the Ninth Assembly, between the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity, to be defined later, for State manufactures, as well as the connection between the question of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war and that of the international trade in arms. The Persian Delegation made a statement* on this subject, to which the Chairman of the Special Commission replied that the draft resolution was not in any way intended to forestall the various opinions of the Governments. Moreover, the draft resolution takes note of the fact that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity in respect of war material. In these circumstances, it is proposed that the Assembly should request the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work on the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on the Procedure for the Election of Members and Amendment to Article 1 of the Financial Regulations.*

The Ninth Assembly, in deciding that the members of the Supervisory Commission should in future be appointed by the Assembly, instructed the Council to study "a method of nomination which would give the necessary guarantees."

The Council, in the report which was communicated to the Assembly on 1st May, proposed that the Assembly should ask its General Committee to submit to it a list of names equal in number to that of the posts to be filled.

In adopting this proposal of the Council, the Fourth Committee wishes to remind the Assembly of the importance which attaches to the question. The Assembly being the budgetary authority of the League of Nations, the Supervisory Commission should be appointed by it under the best possible conditions. It is essential that the members of the latter should be chosen for their personal abilities and qualifications and should be enabled to exercise their important and delicate task in full independence, for the exclusive benefit of the League as a whole.

In the course of the discussion on the Council's report, two proposals for fresh amendments in the Financial Regulations were made.

The representatives of a certain number of States asked that the number of members of the Commission should be raised from five to seven.

On being put to the vote, this proposal was rejected by 25 votes to 8.

The Committee was also called upon to examine a suggestion tending to limit the re-eligibility of the members of the Supervisory Commission. It decided to postpose any decision on this subject until next year, when the question will probably be reconsidered on the basis of a definite proposal.

So as to permit of the necessary rotation, it maintained the principle of renewal previously in force and consequently modified Article 1, para. 3 (*a*) of the Financial Regulations immediately, which it proposes should henceforward read as follows :—

> "The whole Commission shall not be renewed simultaneously ; and, in order to establish a system of partial annual renewal, the members appointed by the Tenth Assembly shall retire as follows :—'At the end of each of the years 1930 and 1931, two members, and at the end of 1932 the remaining member, the order of retirement being determined by lot.' "

It would seem to be well to take this opportunity of deleting the first two paragraphs of the Preamble of the Financial Regulations, which, never having been brought up to date, no longer answer to the present situation.

ANNEX X.—*Report by the Fourth Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

On 26th September 1928 the Assembly adopted the following resolution :—

> "The Assembly :
>
> "Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922 ;
>
> "Considering that, although the Regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn :
>
> "Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps—in

* See Minutes of the eleventh meeting of the Third Committee.

particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this inquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

In order to furnish the Supervisory Commission with all the necessary information, the Secretary-General set up a committee of five officials immediately after the last Assembly. This Committee held 60 meetings, and it was at once evident that the amount of work before it was very large. All the members of the Secretariat had the right to communicate their views, and the staff set up a Committee of its own, the conclusions of which were examined by the Committee appointed by the Secretary-General.

On the basis of the material collected by these various bodies, the Secretary-General prepared a report which he communicated to the Supervisory Commission on 4th June. Moreover, on examining the Secretary-General's report, the Director of the International Labour Office, while endorsing the greater number of the Secretary-General's conclusions, made certain proposals to the Supervisory Commission. The Registrar of the Court forwarded his observations to the Secretary-General before the latter put his report into final form.

The Supervisory Commission, which held an extraordinary session at the end of June to consider these reports, was at once impressed by the complicated character of the problem submitted to it and the important financial consequences it entailed ; it was forced to recognise that there would be many disadvantages in submitting to the Assembly conclusions which had not been adequately examined. It had therefore to confine its action for the time being to preliminary discussions between its members and with the competent officials. It undertook to continue the examination of the problem and to submit its conclusions to the eleventh session of the Assembly.

Following on two speeches made at a plenary meeting of the Assembly, draft resolutions submitted by the delegations of the United Kingdom and Italy were laid before the Committee. These two resolutions led to a long and important discussion, which is recorded in the Committee's Minutes. It would be difficult, in a short report like the present, to summarise the arguments produced in support of the various competing views. It will probably be enough to state here that some delegates thought it desirable that the Fourth Committee should immediately adopt a number of guiding principles, whereas other speakers held that the Commission of Enquiry, which the Fourth Committee apparently desired to set up, should be left the fullest possible freedom of action.

After deciding that the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry should be entrusted to the Assembly, the Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to submit to it a draft resolution, which it adopted at its meeting on 19th September, after a further discussion.

Annex XI.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.*

This year the Fourth Committee has adopted a method of work differing considerably from that hitherto followed.

Several important questions have been referred to Sub-Committees or entrusted to special *rapporteurs* ; consequently, the general report is appreciably shorter than usual and, in order to obtain a complete picture of the work that has been done, reference must be made to the following reports which have been submitted to the Assembly separately :—

Procedure for the election of members of the Supervisory Commission ;

Salaries, pensions and travelling expenses of Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

Contributions in arrear ; and

Erection of an Assembly Hall, a new building for the Secretariat, and a Library.

I.—Audited Accounts for 1928.

The Committee unanimously recommends the Assembly to adopt the accounts of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they are submitted.

It also associates itself with the various recommendations made by the Auditor so far as these have been endorsed by the Supervisory Commission, and it approves the new form proposed by the Supervisory Commission for the accounts for the financial year 1929 and subsequent years.

II.—Budget for 1930.

(*a*) *General Discussion.*

Owing to the very small increase represented by the original budget as compared with that of the current year (204,018 francs—approximately the amount required for the statutory increments of salary), only a few observations on points of detail were made regarding the estimates as communicated to the States Members last June. On the other hand, an extended discussion took place on the supplementary credits.

It was stated in the Supervisory Commission's report that, in regard to several of the questions dealt with, the Commission had not been able to formulate or sift estimates of expenditure with the care which, in all ordinary circumstances, it endeavours to devote to its work, as the conditions of working have this year been wholly exceptional.

Several Committees had not adhered to the time-limit laid down in Article 16 (*c*) of the Financial Regulations, or even to the time-limit as extended by the special Assembly resolution of 10th September, for sending in their requests for supplementary credits to the Supervisory Commission. Also, most of the applications for supplementary credits had not reached the Secretary-General a month before the opening of the Assembly, as Article 16 (*a*) of the Financial Regulations requires.

The text of Article 16 itself seemed capable of divers possible interpretations, and the Supervisory Commission stated in conclusion that it was prepared to examine all the difficulties in regard to the interpretation and application of the new clauses in the Regulations and to submit recommendations before next year.

Several suggestions were made to remedy the difficulties in which the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee are involved at the end of every Assembly. Without going into the details of the discussion—these will be found in the Minutes, to which reference will have to be made when the question is thoroughly examined—it seems worth while to point out here that, while the new clauses in the Regulations have not disposed of the end-of-session difficulties that have arisen annually for some years, the procedure adopted last year has already proved its worth to a certain extent, and, if it is adhered to in a slightly more flexible form, it will undoubtedly help to solve the problem, which has been found more serious than ever during the Tenth Assembly.

With regard to the more practical steps that have been suggested, the simplest solution would obviously be to consider the possibility of lengthening the Assembly session, but this would cause extra expense and inconvenience to many delegates. It would certainly help matters that the debate on the Secretary-General's Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat since the last Assembly should be pursued without any interruption or delay, so as to make it possible to close this discussion at the end of the first week of the session. It seems also desirable to remind all delegations of the importance of close co-ordination between the proceedings of the Fourth Committee and those of the other Assembly Committees; the very delegations which press for caution and economy in the Fourth Committee move or support in the other Committees resolutions involving increased expenditure.

As regards the more general question of the League's fresh expenditure, certain speakers drew attention to the continual growth of the budget, which was fixed a few years ago at a maximum of 25,000,000 francs unless exceptional circumstances should arise. They held that in many cases the new credits were for conferences the value of which was questionable in view of the number of conventions that were not ratified by Governments, and that many appropriations seemed to be voted by the Committees without sufficient distinction being drawn between important and minor questions. There was no need to oppose any development in the League's work, but at the same time it was desirable that such development should be on rational lines.

Other speakers called attention to the considerable expansion in the League's work during the last 10 years and drew the necessary conclusions. The credits should be proportionate to the League's increased programme, and that programme should prevail over any desire for economy.

Accordingly, the Fourth Committee agreed to the Supervisory Commission's proposal to submit to the next Assembly a report on possible improvements in the existing procedure with regard to supplementary credits.

(*b*) *Budget of the Secretariat and Special Organisations.*

In the course of the short general discussion which preceded the examination of the separate items in the Budget, a suggestion was made that the Secretary-General should improve the form of the Budget by making the explanatory notes more explicit. A good presentment is essential if an accurate idea of the development of the League's activities from year to year is to be obtained.

A note in the Budget states that a supplementary appropriation of 430,000 francs would have to be made to cover the travelling expenses of three Assembly delegates of each Member of the League from their country to Geneva. Certain members pronounced in favour of including a credit in the Budget to make this innovation possible; the Committee decided, however, to suspend any decision until a definite proposal was made by a Government.

The Supervisory Commission decided to examine the Swiss delegate's proposal that the appropriations-in-aid shown at the end of Chapter II of the Budget should in future appear in the General Summary of the Budget under the head of "Receipts"; it also agreed to examine, in connection with the Budget for 1931, the Health Committee's resolution regarding the influence of annual increments of salary on the Budget of the Health Organisation, whose ordinary expenditure had been fixed at a maximum of one million gold francs.

In connection with the voting of credits for League publications, several delegates called the Secretary-General's attention to the serious delays in the printing and distribution of important League documents—delays which, in the case of Minutes of Conferences, had a prejudicial effect on the ratification of the Conventions. It was explained that, to a large extent, these delays are attributable to the fact that delegates do not promptly return the provisional Minutes with their corrections. Moreover, for reasons of economy, non-urgent documents are, as far as possible, printed in countries where the League can obtain specially advantageous terms, but where the work is not done so quickly as at Geneva. The wishes of certain delegates could therefore be very largely met by an increase of 75,000 francs in the credit for printing and 40,000 francs in the item of the Budget concerned with staff.

The Norwegian delegate observed that, in his opinion, the Minutes of the various Committees and Sub-Committees were the poorest point in the League's work. In certain cases, reports had been "doctored," and the present tendency was to reproduce all the complimentary expressions in the Minutes and to leave out the criticisms; he thought that the Minute writers should be instructed to produce reports reflecting the various views and opinions expressed during the discussions. Other methods of drawing up Minutes should be found, and the technical improvements made in recent years should be studied. Members of Committees should be given a time-limit in which to send their corrections, and any corrections received after its expiry should be ignored. If a member attempted to change the sense of his remarks, the question should be referred to a specialised official, and the decision should rest with the President of the Assembly or of the Council if that official thought that certain alterations were calculated to give a false impression in the Minutes.

In the course of the discussion which followed the Norwegian delegate's speech, several speakers expressed appreciation of the manner in which the Minutes had so far been produced, though they emphasised the danger of extensively abridging the discussions and shared the Norwegian delegate's apprehensions as to the possible distortion of the report of a discussion by alterations made by

certain delegates in the text of their speeches. The Secretary-General explained the system at present in use in the Secretariat, and proposed that a small Committee should be appointed, consisting partly of persons having a wide experience of parliamentary procedure, to consider the best methods of improving the reports. The Committee agreed to this proposal.

Regarding the more general question of the distribution of the reports of Advisory Committees to the States Members at the same time as they were distributed to members of the Council, the Committee adopted the following resolution :—

> "The Assembly requests the Council to authorise the Secretariat to communicate the reports of Advisory Committees to all the Members of the League at the same time as they are communicated to the Members of the Council, except in cases where the Committee concerned is opposed to such a course."

Future Organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees.

On considering the question of the future organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees, the Committee noted that, although the Advisory Committee for Refugees, the Supervisory Commission and the High Commissioner himself proposed different solutions, they all had the same aim in view; to organise the work with a view to winding up the High Commissariat as soon, and in as satisfactory a manner, as possible. In view, however, of the wide divergence between the solution proposed by the Advisory Committee (incorporation in the Secretariat) and that proposed by the Supervisory Commission (creation of an independent and autonomous organ), the question was referred to a Sub-Committee, which discussed it at considerable length. Both solutions raised numerous questions of an administrative and financial nature, most of which called for detailed study which it was not possible to undertake and to complete during the present Assembly.

For these reasons, the Sub-Committee proposed that the central services of the High Commissariat should, for one year and as an experiment, be placed under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. During this period, all the financial commitments of the High Commissariat, including funds derived from external sources, will be administered and supervised by the competent organs of the League in conformity with the Financial Regulations and the decisions of the Assembly, under conditions to be submitted to the Supervisory Commission for consideration and approval. It is, moreover, understood that such provisional administration will not in any way affect the status of the High Commissioner's staff.

The Secretary-General will thus be able to study all the questions connected with the problem to report to the next Assembly on the results of this experiment, and to submit proposals for the administration of the refugee relief work until it is finally wound up.

The Secretary-General saw no objection to this arrangement, but pointed out that the staff thus incorporated in the Secretariat must not be taken into account in calculating the number of the different nationalities represented on the Secretariat.

The Sub-Committee agreed with the Secretary-General's views on this point, and the Fourth Committee has approved the recommendations submitted to it.

This principle having been agreed upon, the Supervisory Commission received a request for additional credits to meet the new expenditure involved by the incorporation of the High Commissariat Department in the Secretariat. Considering that these expenses might be met by means of savings effected on existing budgetary credits or by means of any other resources at the disposal of the High Commissioner, the Supervisory Commission rejected this proposal.

Certain speakers having pointed out in the Fourth Committee that Dr. Nansen could not meet this expenditure out of the funds which had been entrusted to him, the Commission decided by thirteen votes to four to include for this purpose a special appropriation of 35,850 francs in the budget. It struck out, however, the appropriation of 50,000 francs included in the budget for administrative expenses in connection with the settlement of Armenian refugees in Erivan, Dr. Nansen having informed it that this work could not be continued in the present circumstances.

Apart from two other requests for additional credits (Conference on Financial Assistance for States Victims of Aggression, and the Committee to study the means of Speeding-up the Ratification of Conventions concluded under the Auspices of the League of Nations) which, at the request of certain delegates, were put to the vote, the other items of the budget and the additional credits were adopted.

(*c*) *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

Before examining in detail the credits included in the budget of the International Labour Organisation, the Committee noted the following declarations which were read to it by the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office.

Statement made by the Secretary-General.

> "Although the budget of the International Labour Office does not fall within the province of the Secretary-General, there is one question which is raised in it on which I feel bound to make a short declaration to the Fourth Committee, in view of the fact that the International Labour Organisation is, according to Article 392 of the Peace Treaty, part of the organisation of the League.
>
> "In the receipts as appropriations-in-aid set out in the budget of the International Labour Organisation there will be found a sum of 124,662 gold francs, which was declared to be the contribution of Brazil to the Organisation. I trust that, when the Fourth Committee gratefully accepts, as I feel sure it will, that contribution, it will be on the understanding that its action in so doing in no way prejudices any constitutional questions arising under the Treaty provisions establishing the Labour Organisation. In the present circumstances, the question of the precise legal situation as regards the continuance of Brazil's membership of the International Labour Organisation can be considered as being of such a theoretical character that there seems no need to endeavour to solve it. But circumstances might arise, when a solution of the constitutional point which is involved became highly desirable, and it would, to my mind, be unfortunate if, from the action of the Fourth Committee and of the Assembly in the present case, arguments could be drawn in favour of any particular thesis."

Statement made by M. Albert Thomas.

"I quite understand the reasons why the Secretary-General has wished to make this statement, which was based upon Article 392 of the Peace Treaty. The Committee will doubtless understand the reservation which I wish to make in my turn, in order to safeguard the constitutional rules which have been laid down for the International Labour Organisation in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, and for the observance of which the Governing Body and the Director of the Office are responsible.

"The Secretary-General has stated that, in his opinion, acceptance by the Fourth Committee and by the Assembly of the contribution of 124,662 gold francs which Brazil has offered to the budget of the Labour Organisation should not prejudice the solution of any constitutional problem which might be raised in this connection.

"I agree that it would be incorrect to attribute any theoretical or absolute value to the incorporation of the Brazilian contribution in the budget of the International Labour Organisation. The Secretary-General's reservation cannot, however, constitute at some future date an argument against the legal consequences of the positive fact that this contribution has been paid. In any case, it cannot affect the rights of Brazil and the obligations that it has assumed in virtue of its participation in the International Labour Organisation."

After a short discussion on the attitude to be adopted by international organisations, with regard to the political activities of their officials in the countries of which those officials are members, and an exchange of views on the conferences which the Labour Organisation proposes to convene, including the questions which may be discussed at those conferences, the Committee adopted the budget of the International Labour Organisation as submitted.

(*d*) *Budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Committee approved the budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice without alteration.

The Registrar of the Court pointed out that the Court's budget had developed on perfectly normal lines, the increase in expenditure corresponding to the increase in salaries according to regulations. It should be borne in mind, however, that the modifications in the Statute of the Court will probably affect the 1931 budget.

III.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

Apart from certain recommendations concerning the refugee question, the Fourth Committee has approved the conclusions of the three important reports submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission.

As regards the administration of the income from the Rockefeller grant for the League of Nations Library, the Fourth Committee proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution, submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission :—

"Whereas the sum of five hundred thousand U.S. dollars, forming part of the gift of two million U.S. dollars for the purpose of the Library of the League of Nations offered by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to the League of Nations and accepted by it, has been paid to the Secretary-General in order to constitute, together with such further part of Mr. Rockefeller's gift as may be allocated to the same purpose, a permanent endowment for the said Library ;

"And whereas it is desirable to determine the method of administering the said endowment :

"The Assembly decides as follows :—

"(1) There is created a fund, to be known as the 'Library Endowment Fund,' the capital of which shall be constituted by the amount already received from Mr. Rockefeller and any further part of his gift which may be allocated for this purpose. The capital and income of the fund shall be maintained separate from the other assets of the League of Nations.

"(2) The capital of the Fund shall be invested by the Secretary-General in such manner as may be approved by a Committee of three members, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, two on the proposal of the Financial Committee and the third on the proposal of Mr. Rockefeller or, if he does not desire to propose a candidate, on the proposal of the Financial Committee.

"Any gain from appreciation of investments shall be added to the capital of the fund and any loss from depreciation shall be borne by the said capital.

"(3) The income of the Fund shall be applicable only for the purpose of the Library. It shall be received by the Secretary-General, who may invest any part not required for use in the manner authorised by Article 34 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, or in other investments with the approval of the Committee provided for in para. 1 above. It shall be expended only as authorised by the Assembly and in accordance with the following rules :—

"(*a*) The Budget estimates annually submitted to the Assembly shall show in sufficient detail all expenditure which it is proposed to meet from the income of the Fund in the year in question, and a proposed appropriation in aid from the said income equal to the total amount of such proposed expenditure.

"(*b*) The expenditure which it authorises to be met from the income of the Fund shall be voted by the Assembly in the Budget and the appropriation in aid authorised to be taken from the said income shall be equal to the sum of such authorised expenditure.

"(*c*) No sums shall be drawn from the income of the Fund except to meet an expenditure actually incurred. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Financial Regulations as at present in force or subsequently amended, if the whole of the authorised appropriation in aid from the income of the Fund is not utilised for the authorised purposes, the balance shall be retained in the Fund as unexpended income.

The annual accounts shall show the expenditure actually met out of the income of the Fund balanced by an appropriation in aid of equal amount.

"(*d*) The whole accumulated income of the Fund, i.e., the income accruing in the year and unexpended income remaining over from previous years, shall be available in each year for expenditure in connection with the Library authorised by the budget vote by the Assembly.

"(4) A statement as to the investment of the capital of the Fund and a statement showing the employment of the income of the Fund shall be presented annually to the League Auditor and be annexed with the Auditor's comments, if any, to the annual accounts."

IV.—ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses reminded the Committee of the decision reached by the Ninth Assembly concerning the establishment in 1932 of a final scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations. At his suggestion, the Fourth Committee proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :—

"The Assembly calls the attention of all States Members to the resolution voted by the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on 25th September 1928, requesting the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to submit to the Assembly at its ordinary session of 1932 a revised scale of allocation which will be based on the budget estimates of the various States Members for 1930 (1930–1) and urgently requests all States Members to forward to the Secretariat their budget estimates and closed accounts for each financial period regularly as soon as they are published. It draws particular attention to the importance of supplying the budgetary documents for the financial year 1930 (1930–1), without which the Allocation Committee cannot resume its enquiries."

V.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

(*a*) Certain delegates thought that the Governments concerned might reasonably be requested to grant the League of Nations special facilities for its telegraphic communications, particularly as the League has succeeded in obtaining similar facilities for the Press representatives of the various countries. The Committee feels that, although many practical difficulties may have to be overcome, an important step towards the solution of these difficulties would have been taken if the question were submitted to a conference of the International Telegraphic Union.

(*b*) In order to allow the convening in Paris of the Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners, the Fourth Committee decided, by 24 votes to 7, to free the Secretary-General from his pledge not to draw on the credits voted for the Disarmament Conference for any other purpose; it therefore raises no objection to a sum of 70,000 francs being transferred from that item in the 1929 budget.

(*c*) The Committee, having considered the report of the Sub-Committee it appointed for that purpose and that of the Supervisory Commission, decided by 18 votes to 1 to purchase forthwith the land and premises adjacent to the part of the Ariana Park where the new League buildings are to be erected.

This transaction is of importance in two respects : it will safeguard the League against the danger of building operations unconnected with its purpose, and it will keep the land free for any future object that may be thought desirable. Moreover, the existing house and grounds seem a highly suitable residence for the Secretary-General, and should therefore remain available for that purpose as long as they may be required.

As regards the method of purchase, the Committee, being informed by the Supervisory Commission that there seems to be no possibility at present of redeeming the existing mortgage of 200,000 francs on the property, recommends to the Assembly that the balance of the purchase price (575,000 francs) should be paid at once and that the Secretariat should be asked to arrange for the redemption of the mortgage next year. The Committee further proposes that the sum of 575,000 francs in question should be taken from the 1928 surplus, thus reducing the amount divisible among the Members to 413,659.64 gold francs ; no fresh addition to the budget will then be required.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Traffic in Women and Children.*

The Fifth Committee has considered the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on the work of its eighth session. It notes that the Council, at its June session, approved the resolutions contained in the report, and gave the Secretary-General the necessary instructions.

In order to be able to deal with the various subjects thoroughly, the Committee had to postpone to its next session the consideration of a number of questions, to two of which the Fifth Committee attaches particular importance, namely, (1) the Protection of Young Female Artistes touring Abroad in Music Halls and Similar Places of Amusement, and (2) the Employment of Women Police.

The Committee devoted special attention to the examination of the annual reports from Governments relating to the traffic in women and children. It noted that the majority of the States Members of the League of Nations which had not sent in their reports for the previous session had habitually failed to carry out the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the 1921 Convention. In order to avoid omissions in the future and to increase the number of replies, the Secretariat, in accordance with the Council's decision, sent the Governments a letter containing the necessary explanations. The Fifth Committee trusts that, as a result of these explanations, an increasing number of reports in the prescribed form will be sent in by the Governments. It further expresses the hope that those Governments which have not yet ratified the 1921 Convention will hasten to do so.

The Assembly at its ninth ordinary session adopted a resolution expressing the hope that it would be possible to extend the investigations of the Special Body of Experts to countries where no investigation had taken place before. The Committee considered this possibility, and thought that with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries into the international

traffic should be pursued in countries not previously visited, especially in the East. The Fifth Committee is in agreement with this view, and further endorses the opinion of the Advisory Committee that, in view of the difference in habits, customs and conditions in many Eastern countries, the nature and extent of the inquiries to be made and the methods to be followed should receive special consideration; also, that the composition of the Special Body of Experts should be adapted to the altered circumstances. The Fifth Committee notes that the Council instructed the Secretary-General to inquire from the Governments concerned whether they would be prepared to give their consent and co-operation to the action suggested, and also to prepare and submit, if possible, for the January session, a report dealing with the replies received from the various Governments and containing suggestions as to the composition of the Special Body of Experts and the scope of the inquiry. The Fifth Committee is of opinion that, for the purpose of this inquiry, the Body of Experts should include persons who are well acquainted with the special conditions in the East and that women should be among these persons. From the declarations made by the delegates of various countries concerned, the Fifth Committee is hopeful that the extension of the inquiry may be decided upon within the coming year. In case of a favourable decision, it notes with cordial appreciation that the necessary funds would be made available from the source which met the expenses of the previous inquiry, and it wishes to record its thanks for the generous offer which will make the extension of the inquiry possible.

The Committee is continuing its study of laws and regulations devised to protect public order and health against the dangers arising out of prostitution in countries where the licensed house system has been abolished. The Fifth Committee thinks that this information should serve to further the abolition of the system. It takes note of the evidence furnished to the Committee as to the growing change in public opinion in favour of abolition, and it stresses the importance of public opinion, international as well as national, in such matters. It notes with satisfaction the positive advance made in this direction, and it places on record the fact that the general experience of the various countries points to the advisability of abolition.

On the recommendation of the Committee, the Council requested the Secretary-General to draw the attention of Governments to a useful report prepared by the Secretariat on certain legislation dealing with the *souteneur*, and to the importance of ensuring that legislation and its application should be effective in bringing the *souteneur* to justice. As a means to this end, the Fifth Committee considers it desirable that severe penalties should be inflicted on the *souteneur*; but, in order to obtain more definite and comprehensive suggestions, it recommends that a Sub-Committee of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee be set up to study the question.

The Committee has come to the conclusion that the age limit (21) fixed by the International Convention of 1921 causes administrative difficulties in detecting cases of international traffic as, through false documents or false statements, the victims of the traffic are often stated to have passed the age of 21 laid down in the Convention. On the Committee's proposal, the Council has empowered the Secretary-General to ascertain the views of all Governments on the desirability of omitting the age limit of 21. Some members of the Fifth Committee declared that their countries were prepared to do so.

The Fifth Committee notes that the Advisory Committee had informed the Council that, in its opinion, no further conference to deal with the matter of obscene publications was at present required, but that further information should be requested from the Governments. The Traffic in Women and Children Committee therefore decided to put this question on the agenda for its next session.

At a joint meeting of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee, the Council resolution of 13th December 1928, on the adoption of a new procedure regarding the participation of the assessors in the Committee's work, was examined. The Fifth Committee shares the Advisory Committee's opinion that the number of assessors should be kept within such limits as are reasonable, having regard to the nature of the work of the Committee, and they should, except in special cases, be selected as representing international organisations whose work is recognised as coming more particularly within the scope of the Committee; and that all assessors appointed in the future should be appointed for a period of five years.

In the course of the discussion, the Fifth Committee was impressed with the complexity of the problem of the struggle against the traffic in women and children. Although essentially a social problem, it has its political and economic difficulties. It is a problem necessitating a close study, based on full and accurate information; and it has been the general feeling of the Fifth Committee that, unless the Minutes of the Advisory Committee are available for consultation in conjunction with the report, the work of the Committee cannot be appreciated at its true value. The Fifth Committee, therefore, recommends that the Minutes of the Advisory Committee be distributed in time for the session of the Assembly.

Annex XIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.*

The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs held its twelfth session at Geneva from 17th January to 2nd February this year.

The Advisory Committee, in accordance with its previous practice, examined carefully the position as regards the ratification of the Geneva Convention. It is hardly necessary for the Fifth Committee to remind the Assembly that the Advisory Committee has consistently taken the view that the immediate ratification and rigid enforcement of the Geneva Convention is the most valuable single step that can at present be taken to combat the illicit traffic, and that in this view it has always been supported by the Council and the Assembly. The Committee noted with great satisfaction that the Convention had come into force on 25th September 1928. It regretted, however, that, despite encouraging progress, there still remain more than half the number of States Members of the League which have not yet ratified the Convention. The Convention has been ratified by some 30 Governments, including 26 Members of the League.

The Fifth Committee was glad to note that the number of Members of the Council which have not yet ratified the Convention has been reduced to four, as a result of the ratification by Germany, Venezuela and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In addition, the ratification of Switzerland has been deposited. The Secretariat has also been informed of the passage by Greece of a law ratifying the Convention, although the actual instrument of ratification has not yet been deposited in the Secretariat. A communication has also been received by the Secretariat announcing that the Hungarian Government has decided to ratify the Convention without reserve. Other Governments have announced the taking of steps leading towards ratification, including Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Denmark, Estonia, Panama, and Uruguay. Declarations by the representatives of the Irish Free State, Italy, and Norway of the intention of their Governments to ratify were made in the Fifth Committee, and the representative of Siam said his Government had ratified the Convention and that the instrument of ratification was on its way.

In the event of any Government finding difficulties which prevent it ratifying the Convention, the Fifth Committee took the view that it would be of assistance to the parties to the Convention if the Government would indicate in detail what these difficulties were.

The Advisory Committee indicated in its report the desirability that the Secretariat should bring to the notice of States which had not yet ratified the Geneva Opium Convention all recommendations adopted by the Health Committee under Article 10 of the Convention which aim at bringing under the scope of the Convention additional dangerous narcotic drugs which have been found to be liable to similar abuse as those to which Chapter III of the Convention applies. The Convention provides that the Council of the League shall communicate these recommendations to the parties to the Convention. But it is obviously of great importance that these recommendations—which form the most authoritative judgments available to the world with regard to the results of scientific research in these matters—should be brought to the knowledge of all Governments, and particularly those which are parties to the Hague Convention and have therefore undertaken by Article 14 (*d*) of that Convention "to apply the laws and regulations respecting the manufacture, import, sale or export of morphine, cocaine and their respective salts . . . to all new derivatives of morphine, of cocaine or of their respective salts, and to every other alkaloid of opium which may be shown by scientific research, generally recognised, to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like effects."

The Advisory Committee devoted a considerable part of its session to the examination of the annual reports from Governments, which it regards as one of its most important duties. It drew special attention to two outstanding difficulties which had confronted it in connection with this part of its work, namely, the failure of a number of important Governments to despatch their annual reports on the due date, and the fact that the system of annual reports was still far from being universal.

It drew the attention of the Council to the fact that a number of important Governments had failed to send in their reports until many months after the date laid down by the Council, and that the work of the Committee had thereby been seriously hampered. The Advisory Committee therefore asked the Council to impress in the strongest possible manner on the States Members of the League that the annual reports should be despatched not later than the due date for despatch, which is 1st October in the case of the Far-Eastern States and 1st July in the case of other States. In examining the list of Governments which had forwarded annual reports, the Advisory Committee noted that a number of States, including Members of the Council, had never furnished reports, despite the repeated requests of the Council, which had been supplemented on a number of occasions by the Assembly.

As an illustration of the difficulties in which it found itself through the absence of reports from important States, the Advisory Committee drew attention to the absence of reports from Persia and Turkey, whose production of opium, so far as the Committee has been able to ascertain, amounts to over 1,000,000 kilos of opium per annum. In the absence of direct sources of information concerning this huge quantity, the Committee stated that it was unable to follow in a satisfactory manner the distribution of the drug. During the discussion on the report which took place in the Council at its fifty-fourth session, the representative of Persia made a statement indicating the measures which were being taken by his Government to deal with the opium problem in his country, and in a subsequent communication circulated to States Members he expressed the willingness of his Government to supply to the League full information regarding the opium traffic in Persia.

The Persian representative on the Fifth Committee explained, and the Fifth Committee recognised, the difficulties which prevented the ratification of the Geneva Convention by his country. He added that, on the recent establishment of an Opium Monopoly, his Government would be able shortly to communicate its first annual report containing all the information it was possible to obtain for the moment. The Fifth Committee was glad to take note of this declaration.

The Advisory Committee stated also that it had received very little information from South and Central American States.

The Committee directed the Council's attention to the gravity of this situation, and asked it to use its influence with the States Members of the League and to urge them to forward their reports regularly in the form laid down by the League and in the fullest possible detail, in order that the Committee might duly proceed with its work.

The discussion which took place in the Fifth Committee on the question of the annual reports indicated the great importance which the Committee attached to the sending in by all Governments of annual reports in proper form and by the due date. The Committee therefore trusts that each of the delegations represented at this meeting of the Assembly will urge its Government to give special attention to this matter.

The Fifth Committee felt that the general circulation to all Governments of the annual reports sent to the League, instead of confining this circulation as in the past to the Advisory Committee and supplying the Governments with only a summary of the reports received, would be of assistance to every Government in keeping them more fully informed of the action taken by other Governments. It therefore invited the Secretariat to adopt this practice in the future.

The Advisory Committee devoted, as usual, considerable attention to the large number of seizures which had been reported to the League since the last session, which showed that the situation in

regard to the illicit traffic is still serious. It also considered carefully the general situation as regards the illicit traffic. It devoted particular attention to a memorandum submitted by the Netherlands Government on the transactions of a Dutch firm. This document was regarded by the Advisory Committee as certainly the most important and most detailed document regarding the ways in which drugs were supplied to the international illicit traffic which had ever come before it. It showed that, although this firm's transactions did not infringe the laws then in force in the Netherlands, the narcotics despatched by the firm were intended for other than legitimate purposes.

The Advisory Committee estimated that this centre of international traffic, which has now been suppressed, probably dealt with about half the total annual world production of heroin, as far as is known. In that section of the report which deals with seizures effected by the Netherlands Government and the Government of the United States of America, the Advisory Committee makes mention of the names of four firms whose products, in very large quantities, have been discovered in the illicit traffic.

As a result of its examination of the cases of illicit traffic before it, the Fifth Committee supported the Advisory Committee in its insistence once more upon the point frequently referred to by it in the past, namely, the necessity of Governments making special inquiries before granting licences to applicant firms, in order to satisfy themselves that those firms enjoy a good reputation. It urged that the Governments should immediately withdraw licences which had already been granted for manufacturing or dealing in drugs where it was amply shown that the firm which had obtained the licence was engaged in the illicit traffic or was supplying drugs for such traffic. The Committee also desired to draw the attention of Governments to other means which experience has proved to be of value in combating the illicit traffic.

The Fifth Committee was in complete agreement with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of the provision in the laws of all countries of adequate penalties in connection with the illicit traffic. In this connection, it noted with satisfaction the exemplary sentences imposed upon traffickers in the United States of America. A further point to which the Committee attached considerable importance was the desirability of all Governments mentioning in their annual reports all seizures, on however small a scale, which might throw light on the methods employed by traffickers.

The Fifth Committee regards as of special importance the recommendations of the Advisory Committee regarding the imposition of severe penalties and the withdrawal of licences of manufacturers or traders who have been found to be implicated in the illicit traffic. It is convinced that, if drastic action were taken in these directions in all countries, a heavy blow would be dealt to the illicit traffic.

The Council, acting on the advice of the Advisory Committee, instructed the Secretariat to submit to Governments a list prepared by the Secretariat of factories authorised to manufacture drugs falling under the Geneva Convention, requesting them to be so good as to verify and complete it. In view of the important bearing of this list on the holding of a conference of the manufacturing and the chief consuming countries, the Fifth Committee trusts that all Governments will comply with the wishes of the Advisory Committee in verifying and completing this list as soon as possible.

With regard to the smuggling of drugs through the post, which experience has proved to be a method frequently employed on a large scale by traffickers, the Advisory Committee decided to request the London Congress of the Universal Postal Union, which was held in May 1929, to examine the possibility of introducing into the Postal Convention a provision authorising the administrations, both in the countries of consignment and in the countries of destination, to subject to Customs supervision correspondence, letters, business papers and samples which they had reason to suspect contained drugs. The Advisory Committee asked the Council to invite the British Government to lay the detailed recommendations of the Committee on this matter before the Postal Congress. The British Government has, however, taken the view that the detailed proposals of the Committee on this point were based on the incorrect assumption that the Postal Union Convention made express provision for the inviolability of correspondence in the post. This assumption not being correct, the British Government felt that the end which the Committee had in view would be obtained in a much more efficient and satisfactory fashion by agreement between the countries concerned to carry into effect the measures suggested.

The British Government felt itself able to place before the Postal Congress the proposal to amend Article 41 of the Postal Convention in respect of the treatment by the office of destination of narcotics discovered in the post. This amendment will require the administrations not to return to the office of origin narcotics seized in the post. This proposal was accepted by the Postal Congress.

A long discussion took place in the Advisory Committee with regard to a scheme for limiting the output of manufactured drugs which had been placed before it. The scheme had been submitted to the Government of the United States of America, which transmitted it to the Netherlands Government. In accordance with the suggestion of the Government of the United States in its letter of 24th March 1928 to the Government of the Netherlands, in which it stated that this matter was of possible interest to the other Powers parties to the Hague Convention of 1912, the Secretary-General communicated this scheme to those States as well as to all other States Members of the League of Nations. The more outstanding features of the scheme, as noted by the Advisory Committee in its report to the Council, are the following :—

> Each Government shall notify in advance for a determined period its requirements of each of those substances derived from opium and the coca leaf that now are, or in the future may be, covered by either the Hague Convention or the Geneva Convention.
>
> Each Government shall state from which country it will purchase its requirements in narcotic drugs for medical and scientific purposes.

During the meeting of the Fifth Committee, an interesting communication was received from the Republic of Costa Rica, drawing attention to its acceptance of the fundamental principles of this scheme.

Some members of the Advisory Committee who were in favour of the general ideas embodied in this scheme asked that it should be taken as a starting-point for a general discussion at the next session on the limitation of manufacture and possibly the establishment of a Government monopoly.

The majority of the Advisory Committee, however, while agreeing that the idea of a limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs by the means set forth in the scheme was ingenious, did not think that it could be realised in the manner proposed. The Advisory Committee did not think it advisable to take any action in regard to the scheme submitted to it. It is waiting to see the results of the application of the Geneva Convention, which has only just come into force and provides a strict system of control.

The question of the relations between the Advisory Committee and the Permanent Central Opium Board, which has been discussed at previous sessions, was further examined by the Committee at its twelfth session. The Board was set up by the Council in December 1928, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention. It held its first session at Geneva in January and its second session in May, and reported to the Council at the fifty-fifth session in June of this year.

As the session of the Advisory Committee and the Board took place simultaneously in Geneva, the Committee thought it desirable to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded it of studying, in conjunction with a delegation from the Central Board, the future relationship of the two bodies. Before this discussion, an exchange of views had taken place in the Advisory Committee with regard to the question as to whether the work and powers of the Advisory Committee would be affected in any way by the creation of the Permanent Central Opium Board. After giving full consideration to the matter, the Advisory Committee noted that its rights and duties would not be restricted by the creation of the Central Board, although it took the view that the Board would ultimately relieve it of a considerable part of its technical work, more particularly in connection with the detailed examination of statistics. The Advisory Committee decided that it must continue to examine these statistics, although their preparation and full technical analysis could be left to the Board. The Advisory Committee's examination of the statistics would be restricted to what it considered necessary for the purposes of its work. It was felt that there would thus be no difficulty in future in avoiding any overlapping between the work of the two bodies. With a view to ensuring friendly and useful co-operation between the two bodies, the Committee requested its Chairman to keep in close touch with the Chairman of the Central Board. The simultaneous meeting of the two bodies gave the Committee an opportunity which it was glad to welcome of co-operating at once with members of the Board by inviting them to attend the discussions on the annual reports of the Governments and on cases of illicit traffic.

The Fifth Committee had the opportunity of listening to an interesting statement made by Professor Gallavresi, Vice Chairman of the Permanent Central Opium Board, with regard to the setting up of the Board, the work which it had accomplished and its plans for future developments.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the report of the Advisory Committee on the work of its twelfth session was examined by the Council at its fifty-fourth session, in March 1929. The Council took note of the report and resolutions of the Advisory Committee and instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action to give effect to them.

The discussion which took place in the Fifth Committee on the report of the Advisory Committee can be described without hesitation as one of the most important which has ever taken place in the Fifth Committee, if not the most important. The discussion showed a deep sense of the seriousness of the position, the bringing to light of which it was generally agreed was one of the most important of the contributions made by the Advisory Committee, and a general determination to put an end to the illicit traffic as soon as possible. The discussions in the Fifth Committee concentrated upon three main points: (1) The vital necessity of the universal ratification and strict application of the Geneva Convention; (2) the necessity of securing an international agreement by which each of the manufacturing countries would consent to limit its manufacture to a definite quota of the world's scientific and medical requirements as regards morphine, heroin and cocaine and similar drugs; (3) the future constitution of the Advisory Committee in such a manner as to allow of a more effective representation of non-manufacturing countries.

The Fifth Committee noted with great appreciation the large number of promises of ratification of the Geneva Convention which had been received in the last couple of months. It could not, however, shut its eyes to the fact that, at the present time, only 26 out of the 53 Members of the League present at this Assembly had ratified the Convention. It decided, therefore, that a further appeal should be addressed immediately to all States Members which have not yet ratified the Convention to do so at the earliest possible moment and thus make their effective contribution to the work which the League has undertaken in this matter.

The Fifth Committee addressed an urgent appeal to all the delegations present at this Assembly to bring to bear their personal influence to expedite the ratification by their respective countries.

In order to secure the effective operation of the Geneva Convention, the Fifth Committee decided that it was essential that the attention of Governments should be drawn once more to the model administrative code elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, which contains the provisions which the League's expert body regards as essential to the proper application by each country in its internal legislation and administration of the Geneva Convention.

The greater part of the debate in the Fifth Committee was concentrated upon the question of the limitation of manufacture. The result of this discussion was the emergence for the first time in the history of the League of an agreement amongst the manufacturing countries as to the desirability of the limitation of manufacture, to be secured by means of an international Conference which would determine the total amount of narcotic drugs required to meet the legitimate medical and scientific needs of the world as well as the quota to be allocated amongst the various manufacturing countries.

Resolutions relating to the limitation of manufacture were proposed by the representatives of Venezuela, Italy, Uruguay and Great Britain. The resolution submitted by the Venezuelan Delegation, which follows upon an intervention by the Venezuelan delegate in the June meeting of the Council, provided that a special Committee of five members should be set up by the Council.

This Committee, under the presidency of the Chairman of the Permanent Central Board, should study the principal and subsidiary causes which have prevented the execution of the provisions of the Opium Conventions with regard to the limitation of manufacture, and should submit a report to the Advisory Commission in time for its next session.

A resolution by the Italian Delegation requested the Council to ask the Advisory Committee to study the most effective means of effecting the limitation of the manufacture of drugs.

The resolution moved by the Uruguayan Delegation requested the Council to set up a special Committee of five members, similar in constitution to that proposed by the Venezuelan Delegation, to frame a plan with a view to giving effect to the provisions contained in the Opium Conventions, especially with regard to the limitation of manufacture, the Committee's report to be submitted to the Advisory Committee either at its 1930 session or at an extraordinary session before the month of May, so that the Council might be in the position to submit this plan to the Assembly at its next session.

The resolution proposed by the British Delegation asked the Council to invite the Governments of the countries in which morphine, heroin or cocaine are manufactured to confer together as to the possibility of arriving at an agreement as to the total amount of each of those drugs to be manufactured annually and as to the quota of that amount to be manufactured by each of those countries, and that the Secretary-General should be authorised, in the event of the acceptance of that invitation, to give such assistance to the Governments as they may desire.

It further recommended that the Advisory Committee should continue its studies of the question, more particularly with reference to the steps that would be necessary in the event of factories being established in countries not at present manufacturing the drugs.

The British resolution containing a definite proposal for a Conference on the limitation of manufacture followed upon a declaration made by the representative of France that his Government had decided to impose a limitation on its manufacturers and other declarations with regard to limitation made by representatives of other Governments.

The Fifth Committee did not, for various reasons, find it possible to support the resolutions proposed by the representatives of Venezuela and Uruguay.

After further discussion, the representative of Great Britain, in deference to suggestions made by other delegations, agreed to a modified resolution providing for the extension of the scope of the Conference to include representatives of the chief consuming countries. It agreed also, in order to meet the views put forward by the Italian Delegation, that the Advisory Committee should be called upon to prepare plans for the proposed limitation.

The third point on which the attention of the Fifth Committee had concentrated is contained in the fourth recommendation of this resolution. Whilst there was a strong feeling in the Fifth Committee in favour of a more effective representation of the non-manufacturing countries on the Advisory Committee, there was also a general feeling against the undue enlargement of the Advisory Committee to a point where its work would be rendered ineffective. The British Delegation was of the opinion that different countries might, at different times, owing to the shifting nature of the illicit traffic, find themselves the centre of such traffic, and suggested that the Council might ask the Advisory Committee at its next meeting to consider and report in what manner the assistance in the work of the Committee of countries which are in a special sense victims of the illicit traffic, or which are important centres of distribution, or are countries of transit, could from time to time be most effectively secured.

On the proposal of the Austrian Delegation, which drew attention to the great importance of securing the effective co-operation of the police authorities in the various countries in connection with the League's work as regards traffic in opium and the protection of women and children, the Fifth Committee carried a resolution.

The Fifth Committee, anxious to secure the fullest possible results from the spirit of co-operation revealed in its discussions, decided to request the Secretariat to take certain steps which it feels convinced will put the opium work of the League upon a sounder footing and will result in the more effective application of the Opium Conventions. It requested the Secretariat (1) to study and prepare a report for submission to the Advisory Committee on the data in its possession regarding the legitimate consumption of dangerous drugs; and (2) to take into consideration (*a*) the possibility of preparing a list of all the laws now in operation in the various countries regarding traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, and the possibility of preparing a digest or survey of this legislation with a view to facilitating the more effective operation of the Geneva and Hague Conventions; (*b*) the desirability of making a careful comparative study of all the seizure reports in the possession of the League with a view to bringing out the chief administrative weaknesses which they reveal.

In view of the considerable amount of additional work extending over a lengthy period which these proposals involve and of the large amount of preparatory work required in connection with the proposed Conference of Governments on limitation of manufacture, the Fifth Committee decided to ask the Fourth Committee to make provision for additional staff for the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section of the Secretariat. In making this request, the Fifth Committee has taken into full consideration the heavy pressure which is already being placed upon the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section of the Secretariat as a result of the constantly widening field of application of the Opium Conventions and the additional work likely to be involved next year in connection with the Commission of Enquiry into the control of opium-smoking in the Far East and the Conference of the parties to the Geneva Opium Agreement of 11th February 1925, which is likely to follow upon the presentation of the report of the Commission. The Fifth Committee trusts, therefore, that the Fourth Committee will agree to its request, which it regards as essential to the effective carrying out of the League's responsibilities in connection with the opportunities now presenting themselves as regards the successful handling of the problem of the drug traffic.

Finally, the Fifth Committee passed a resolution expressing its high appreciation of the work of the Advisory Committee, and, in doing so, tendered its thanks to those members of the Committee who had worked ceaselessly in their own countries to bring about a realisation of the aims of the League and had done so much to reveal the extent of the illicit traffic and to provide the League of Nations with the opportunity now opening out before it of taking a decisive step forward in the direction of securing a limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs.

In presenting this report, the Fifth Committee feels that, whilst the situation still continues to be grave, the step taken at this meeting of the Assembly to secure a Conference on the limitation of manufacture, made possible for the first time by the acceptance by the manufacturing countries of the principle of direct limitation of manufacture by means of an international agreement, justifies

hopes of the ultimate success of the League's effort. It cannot be too strongly urged, as pointed out in the last part of the above-mentioned resolution, which was unanimously accepted, that this success must depend on the fullest possible co-operation of all Governments.

ANNEX XIV.—*Report by the Sixth Committee on the Annual Report of the Council on the Slavery Convention.*

The Sixth Committee has noted the information communicated to the League by a number of Governments in connection with the gradual abolition of slavery and similar conditions. This information has been sent in in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Seventh Assembly on 25th September 1926. It is furnished by the Governments of Great Britain, India, Portugal, Spain and the Sudan. The delegate of the Republic of Liberia has also announced that his Government will shortly send a memorandum containing the information required by Article 7 of the Convention of 25th September 1926.

The Committee highly appreciates the readiness of these States to send information, the value of which needs no emphasising. It is particularly grateful to the British Government for furnishing detailed information as to the social and economic results of the abolition of domestic slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. The Committee, which had this problem under consideration last year, is happy to learn that the introduction in Sierra Leone of the "Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance, 1927" has given rise to no social or economic disturbances in the Protectorate.

Since the Sixth Committee of the Ninth Assembly considered the question of slavery in 1928, the number of ratifications or final accessions to the Slavery Convention of 1926 has increased from 24 to 28. The countries which have ratified the Convention or acceded to it during the past year are Germany, the United States of America, Estonia and Iraq. The Liberian Delegation has also informed the Committee that its Government's ratification will not be long delayed.

The Committee greatly appreciated the Swiss Delegation's declaration that, if it appeared that its country's accession might be of assistance with a view to the execution of the Convention, the Swiss Government would have little hesitation in contemplating accession. The Committee expressed the opinion that the accession of a country like Switzerland, although it was not directly concerned in the question, would constitute a genuine moral asset towards ensuring the general application of the Convention. It therefore considered under these circumstances that any decision of this kind taken by Switzerland or any other country in a similar situation should be welcomed.

The Committee had before it a proposal by the British delegate to revive the Temporary Commission on Slavery. This proposal took the form of a draft resolution in the following terms:—

> "Considering the importance of the general ratification of the Slavery Convention;
>
> "And the desirability of the fullest information on the subject of Slavery and Forced Labour being placed at the disposal of the League;
>
> "Anxious to complete the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in all its forms;
>
> "The Committee,
>
> "Recommends to the Council the reappointment of the Commission on Slavery to report on all the above matters."

This proposal, which had been supported by the delegates of India, Norway and Spain, was referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the delegates of Abyssinia, Belgium, British Empire, France, Italy, Liberia, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Siam and Spain, which met under the chairmanship of Count de Penha-Garcia (Portugal), Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee.

The British representative emphatically stated in the Sub-Committee that the work of the Commission, as he understood it, ought not in any way to assume the form of control or of a direct investigation in the various territories, except by the express consent of the Government concerned.

Further, the Sub-Committee noted that any conclusions at which it might arrive could only relate to the slave trade and slavery in all its forms, and must exclude forced labour, the investigation of which is being pursued by the International Labour Organisation, as indicated in the Assembly resolution of 25th September 1926.

Certain objections were expressed in the Sub-Committee, more particularly in regard to the following two points:—

(1) The present legal situation as regards slavery is, from the point of view of the League of Nations, and therefore of the Assembly, very different from what it was in 1925. Since that date, a convention has been framed. Following on negotiations in which the plenipotentiary delegates of the States Members of the League took part, the Convention was approved by the Seventh Assembly. This approval was accompanied by a recommendation that the communication of the laws and regulations enacted to put an end to slavery should be supplemented by information furnished spontaneously by the Members of the League with regard to the measures undertaken by them.

(2) The report submitted in 1925 by the Temporary Commission on Slavery was said to have exhausted the investigations of the problem of slavery, but the Sub-Committee considered that, having regard to the information which the League had received since the Convention on Slavery was approved, there might be some reason to believe that the Convention is not producing the results that were anticipated when the resolution of the Seventh Assembly was adopted in 1926. But, in view of the comparatively short period which has elapsed since the signature of the Convention, it would, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, be premature to give any definite opinion on this matter.

The Sub-Committee was unanimous in thinking that the first step should be to try to obtain further ratifications and accessions to the Convention by renewing the efforts which had previously been made in this direction. It also believed that a general outline should be given of the results

as regards slavery so far obtained in consequence of the application of the Convention, and that the present state of the problem, with all possible details, should be ascertained so as to allow of a comparison of the means now available and the present needs of the situation. The Sub-Committee was therefore of opinion that an investigation in this direction should precede consideration of the other means which might be contemplated to deal with the situation, and therefore should also precede any decision on the British Delegation's proposal to revive the Commission on Slavery.

The Sub-Committee thinks that, in the meantime, the Secretary-General should be requested to obtain from States Members of the League, and from non-Member States which are parties to the Convention, all information on the existing position of slavery in all its forms and to report to the next Assembly.

The Committee accepted the Sub-Committee's arguments and conclusions.

Annex XV.—*Report by the General Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Jusitce.*

Nomination of the Committee of Inquiry.

On 23rd September 1929 the Assembly decided, on the report of the Fourth Committee, to constitute a Committee of Inquiry "consisting of nine members, two of whom shall be members of the Supervisory Commission, to be appointed by the Assembly to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

The Assembly also decided to ask the General Committee to submit a list of nine persons who might become members of the Committee of Inquiry.

On 24th September 1929 the Assembly adopted a supplementary report of the Fourth Committee recommending that the number of members of the Committee of Inquiry should be raised from 9 to 13.

The General Committee, having considered these resolutions of the Assembly, together with various suggestions made in the course of the Assembly discussion, has the honour to submit the following 13 names :—

M. Adatci.
Count Bernstorff.
Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.
Sir Atul Chatterjee.
M. Hambro.
Mme. Kluyver.
M. Loucheur.
M. Osusky, Member of the Supervisory Commission.
M. Quinones de Leon.
M. Parra-Pérez, Member of the Supervisory Commission.
M. Scialoja.
M. Sokal.
M. Urrutia.

The General Committee also recommends to the Assembly that each member of the Committee of Inquiry should be entitled, should he find it impossible to attend the meeting, to appoint a substitute. It is understood that members of the Committee and their substitutes will serve in their personal capacity and not as representatives of the States of which they are nationals.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Tenth Assembly.

Annex I.—*Report of a Speech by Sir M. Habibullah in the Assembly on the 7th September* 1929.

As the first Indian to lead the delegation of my country to a session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, I have a debt to discharge and a favour to seek. The debt is one of gratitude to my predecessors of British race who served India with single-minded and unswerving loyalty; the favour that I crave is one of indulgence for one who is new to this great gathering and ill-equipped by linguistic proficiency or oratorical skill to attain to the high standards established by those who in the past had the honour of being India's first delegate. May your kindness and forbearance enable me to be not altogether unworthy of them.

I have listened with the utmost interest to the speeches of those who have preceded me in this general debate. Some of them bear great names—names pre-eminent in the history of our times. I have heard discussed great issues—Disarmament, Security, Peace; accounts of the strivings and activities of the Council of the League and of its many organisations designed to promote lasting goodwill and concord among men, and to foster co-operative endeavour among nations in pursuit of common aims, political, social, and economic—endeavour that is the most powerful aid to the stability and vitality of the spirit that makes for lasting peace. I have acquired, in such measure as it is possible for one coming from so remote a land as India to imbibe an atmosphere so complex as the atmosphere of the western world, a sense of the practical difficulties that beset those engaged in the task of making the intractable legacy of centuries of militant rivalry amenable to the forces of peace. And the one lasting impression that I shall take back with me is the impression of the earnest sincerity and steadfast effort of those whom it has been my privilege to meet and hear in Geneva, to seek and ensue the ideal enshrined in our Covenant. Perhaps achievement will be a tardy process. What ideal worthy of sustained effort ever dropped with swift ease into the seeker's lap? But to those who still aim the darts of cynical contempt at our ideals and our work, I would utter a confident warning not to empty their quivers at us, but to seek a more vulnerable target. And to those whose vision is not irredeemably clouded by deliberate cynicism and scepticism, I would appeal to abandon their aloofness and to aid us in our task. The noble discourse of my Right Honourable friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, initiating this debate, should be a trumpet call to everyone to rally to the League.

And what of India? It may be asked whether the country for whom I have the honour to speak to-day is ardent and firm in her support of the League. Let the records of this Assembly for the last nine years provide the answer. We have not the might or the political experience of the Great Powers. Our problems are, in the main, different from the problems of political and economic reconstruction which, owing to the nearness of the countries concerned and to their dangerous implications, the League has had to handle. Our limited resources—it is often forgotten that the care of over 300,000,000 people is liable to absorb the resources which in smaller countries would leave an abundant surplus for the pursuit of altruism—are practically pledged in full to meet our domestic obligations. But in spite of our remoteness and our poverty, we have been prompt and active in doing our duty by the League. If at times we have been critical, or slow to respond, it has been because in our judgment a proposal needed closer scrutiny to establish its title to the League's support. But our loyalty to the ideals for which the League stands has never grown dim, and to their realisation we are determined to contribute our full quota of energy and effort. As fresh testimony of our inherent devotion to these ideals, I am authorised by my Government to announce that India, like Great Britain and Canada, has decided to sign the Optional Clause and I shall do so before the end of the present session of the Assembly.

One of the most important questions facing us to-day is the question of disarmament. A war-weary world is naturally anxious to render the recurrence of war impossible. We in India fortunately escaped much of the suffering that overtook the regions situate in the zone where the conflict waged fierce and long. But we have felt the economic repercussions—as, indeed, we bore our share of the burden of the fray—and we know enough of the destructive potency of modern weapons of warfare to be able to visualise what havoc a new war could work. We are, therefore, as anxious as any other country, inside or outside the League, to see peace perpetuated on a basis of disarmament. But it must be evident to all that for this object to be fully achieved, disarmament must be general. So long as a single country stands out of a scheme for the limitation of armaments to the minimum compatible with the requirements of national security, the country which is most exposed to danger from the immunity claimed by others must adjust the strength of its forces to its needs. A glance at the map of our frontiers will show what our difficulties are. So long as those difficulties exist, so long must we be prepared to meet them. Subject to this one condition, which is really an obligation of national safety, we are ready always to play our part in the preparation of peace.

I do not propose to touch on any other political issue to-day. I should, however, like to comment upon one or two aspects of the work accomplished by the technical organisation of the League, such as the one which concerns itself with Public Health, because it is these activities which have brought India into direct touch with the League. Over a year ago it was my privilege, as member of the Government of India responsible for Public Health, to inaugurate at Delhi an interchange of Health Officers organised by the League. I had the opportunity, then, of indicating to those present our attitude towards assistance that might be offered to us for dealing with our own problems. I affirmed then that while the responsibility for administering such services must rest with the Government of the country and could not be shared with any other authority, we would welcome, without qualification or reserve, assistance and advice from all quarters that were able and willing to help. The visit to India of Dr. Madsen and others who took part in the interchange proved most valuable to the members of our sanitary services, and I have reason to believe that the tour was not without benefit to our visitors. Before I left India to attend the present session of the Assembly, I had the satisfaction of learning that members of the League's Malaria Commission

were expected to arrive in India at the end of August and to make an extensive tour through the main provinces in order to study local malarial conditions and the steps taken by the local authorities to combat the disease. We hope that this visit will be of mutual benefit to the experts of the League and to our own. We are also co-operating to the best of our ability in the intelligence work which the Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore is now doing with conspicuous benefit to sanitary authorities in 150 ports in the Far East. Equally we are assisting in the co-ordination of researches into some of the principal epidemics of the Orient which the Bureau has undertaken. As we possess a highly organised corps of medical research workers, with a distinguished record of original and beneficent activity, I am confident that the Bureau will find their help of great value. Should the League decide to extend to the East the studies in rural hygiene and into the causes of mortality among children which it has undertaken in some countries in Europe and South America, we shall be glad to give all the assistance that may be in our power. Indeed, the subject of infant mortality is of great importance to us, and I have no doubt that India would welcome a decision on the part of the League to assist her in finding means of investigating the causes of and the remedies for the present high percentage of deaths among small children.

If I have singled out the Health Organisation for mention, it is because we have been brought most directly into touch with it. Nothing is further from my intention than to institute invidious comparisons or to insinuate disparagement of the work of the other technical organisations. In fact, the perusal of the Report of the Council which we are now discussing has filled me with admiration and amazement at the variety and range of subjects which have been or are being studied by these various bodies. But I also have a practical purpose in dwelling, at some length, on the co-operation between India and the League's Health Organisation. It is to point the moral, which, in spite of its obviousness, is apt to be lost sight of, that the strength of a country's interest in the League is substantially dependent upon the interest in its affairs which the League displays. And I shall be failing in my duty both to India and to the League if I did not take advantage of the occasion to point out that in India, as also, perhaps, in other Eastern countries, there is a feeling that the West claims most of the attention of the League. As I have already said, this is intelligible since the problems that knock constantly at the door, as it were, of the League are the problems of countries which are geographically the nearest to its seat, and which, because of their immediate bearing on the political and economic situation of Europe, press themselves most readily on its attention. Nor can we ignore the fact that organised publicity gives an advantage in the race to those who have command of it. We in India have not, perhaps, tried to be too clamant. But the League, which was established to work for co-operation, goodwill and amity among the peoples of the earth, must seek to transcend even continental boundaries, and to broad base itself on the informed and active affection of all the peoples. This can only be achieved with the aid of world-wide vision, world-wide understanding and world-wide sympathy. I am not suggesting that the will to such vision, such sympathy and such understanding does not exist. I only plead for a new orientation of vision, and of endeavour. In India our aim is to create mass opinion favourable to the League. Before that aim can be realised, opinion among the educated classes, who constitute a fraction of the mass, has to be mobilised in support of the League. We have formed associations in all the important cities to educate public opinion. We are contemplating a conference of provincial representatives to consider how best the aims and objects of the League can be inculcated on the generation that is now passing through our schools and colleges. But practical demonstrations of the League's interest in India, such as was afforded by the interchange of Health Officers or the visit of the Malaria Commission, win far more adherents to the League than a multitude of lectures and pamphlets. People in my country also ask, what steps has the League taken to study and understand our needs? Who is there on its large staff of administrators and experts to advise, with sympathetic understanding that comes only of affinities born of racial kinship, of what is likely to quicken interest in India? When may India hope to take her place among those who determine the higher policy and discharge the highest responsibilities of the League? Questions like these are not improvised and asked at occasional public meetings, but questions constantly present in the minds of those who take interest in public affairs. They press for answer. I shall not presume to suggest the answers. I shall end these remarks with an expression of the faith within me that by the light of the wisdom of those who guide the policy of the League, answers, and satisfactory answers, will be found.

Annex II.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ewart Greaves in the First Committee on the 16th September* 1929.

Sir Ewart Greaves (India) said he did not suppose that it was the intention of the Government of Finland to open the way in arbitration matters to a general right of appeal to the Court. Any such right of appeal would clearly be a mistake. The proposal, as he understood it, had in view cases where an award given by arbitral tribunals was alleged by one of the parties to the reference to be vitiated through the Court exceeding its powers or failing to exercise those powers or where the award contained an error of law on the face of the record. He thought it necessary to examine definite cases in which this hypothesis might occur.

First of all they might take the case of two States who had signed the optional clause deciding to submit a particular dispute to a tribunal agreed upon by themselves. The submission contained no provision for referring to any dispute arising from the award of the nature he had indicated. Nevertheless it was open to the parties to make a reference to the Court of Justice under Article 36 in the event of any difference arising such as he had indicated and this whether they had or had not signed the optional clause.

Secondly, there was the case where the parties agreed in the submission to arbitration that questions of the nature he had indicated should, if they arose, be submitted to the Court. In that case no difficulty would arise.

A third case arose where the submission did not arise for any appeal in matters of the nature he had indicated, and one of the parties desired to submit such matters to the Court while the other refused. He did not think that in that case, which was the only case in which any difficulty arose, they ought to try and force an appeal to the Court. The parties should be trusted to act reasonably,

and it was to him unthinkable that where the parties had chosen their own tribunal to decide a dispute they should be forced to allow an entirely different tribunal to decide any dispute which arose out of the award of the tribunal which they had chosen themselves. He was opposed to spending 40,000 francs on setting up a Committee of Jurists to study the question.

In conclusion, the speaker stated that Article 61 of the Statute of the Court, which refers to revision, had in his view been wrongly brought into the argument. In a case under Article 61 the Court itself which has dealt with the dispute revises its own judgment. This was a well-recognised procedure and apart from any special provision probably inherent in the jurisdiction of any Court which still had seisin of the matter. But it was not a procedure which could be applied to the decisions of an entirely different tribunal.

Annex III.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Second Committee on the 16th September* 1929.

Mr. Bajpai congratulated the *Rapporteur* on his clear and succinct résumé of the work of last year, and of the activities proposed for the approaching year. The most important of these was the proposed inquiry into the activities of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation with a view to definition of scope so as to ensure practical achievement. He felt sure that all well-wishers of the movement for Intellectual Co-operation would welcome this step. As the Belgian representative had pointed out in a remarkable speech, diffusion of activity was likely to defeat the object for which the movement was started. In a world of realities, even the fiery steeds of idealism had to be harnessed to the rumbling pantechnicon of facts. India was anxious to make the movement a success. As a country with an ancient literature and a remarkable system of philosophy, she naturally welcomed a movement which sought to lay the foundations of a cultural synthesis. But the very vastness of the ideal afforded justification for well-thought-out and stable activity.

As regards the three proposals for additional credit included in the *Rapporteur's* report, the Indian Delegation wished to make certain general observations.

In the first place it seemed doubtful whether, consistently with the principle that the League has no financial responsibility towards the Institute at Paris, it would be wise to create a precedent now in favour of rendering financial assistance to it.

Secondly, as regards the credit for the proposed inquiry, it was for consideration whether the cost of such investigation should not form a charge on the budget of the Institute itself. The inquiry was suggested so as to secure restriction of its activity to practical ends. This would seem to imply that no harm would be done if some of the less important activities were temporarily stopped or even dropped so as to provide funds for the inquiry.

Thirdly, as regards the proposal to ask for a credit to facilitate translation of the pamphlet on the aims and objects of the League, the Indian Delegation thought that the Secretariat ought not to be saddled with this duty. It was not a bureau of multilingual translators and could not meet demands for translations from all the States Members of the League. To cite one example: if India, where there were over a hundred dialects spoken, asked the League to provide it with translations for the various linguistic groups that constitute its population, both financially and linguistically the Secretariat would be overwhelmed. It would be safer to assume that a country which was really interested in instructing its population in the aims and objects of the League would undertake to carry out and defray the cost of translations necessary for the purpose.

In conclusion, Mr. Bajpai added that while India had not so far been able to set up a national Committee, the authorities that could help in bringing such a committee into being had been sounded, and it was hoped that before long it would be possible to convene them in conference so as to obtain the desired result.

Annex IV.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Second Committee on the 17th September* 1929.

Mr. Bajpai expressed high appreciation of the clarity and conciseness of M. Fierlinger's report, which was literally a survey of activities from China to Peru, and, for a survey so vast, extraordinarily lucid and inspiring. He used the word "inspiring" deliberately, because nothing was calculated to touch emotion and kindle enthusiasm more surely or intensely than an account of beneficent endeavour, dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering. The credit for this was due, no doubt, to the Governments of the countries which had co-operated with the League. But it was due also to the Health Committee of the League, which has played an important part in the preparation of a considerable programme of work, and to the Director of the Health Section.

Mr. Bajpai associated himself with the delegate of the British Empire in expressing thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for its generous decision to continue for a further quinquennium its subvention in aid of the activities of the Health Organisation. By Asiatic countries this news would be received with special gratitude because of the immense and growing importance to them of the work of the Singapore Bureau.

As regards the general budgetary position, he observed that no one who had carefully read the documents which had been supplied to the delegations could have failed to be struck by the technical as well as the territorial range of the activities of the Health Organisation. This was, perhaps, inevitable in a domain so vast as the domain of medical science, and especially the domain of preventive medicine. The old adage that prevention is better than cure was now sought to be applied on a large scale in the interest of public health. Each country was seeking to create, to readjust or to reform its sanitary services. If the Health Organisation was to play its role of helper and co-ordinator, so as to prevent error, to provide the lessons of tested experience as the basis of readjustment or reform, and to avoid duplication of effort, it could not legitimately be expected to work within any rigid financial limits. If its activities were to grow it seemed impossible that its budget should remain stationary. A statement of this character from a representative of India which had always been a vigilant champion of economy, would, he hoped, be well received. At the same time, it would be unwise to ignore the prudent and patent canon of sound administration that

the growth of expenditure must be justified by reasons which commanded general acceptance, that it must not be too rapid, and that it must be based on proposals which benefited all the States Members of the League whose problems were pressing and of general humanitarian as well as of practical scientific importance. The East was receiving more and more attention from the Health Organisation, and India did not grudge the assistance which that body has given to countries in Europe or in Latin America. All that he urged is that if there was to be extension of the activities of the Health Organisation, the East, with its teeming humanity and multitudinous and deadly epidemics, should not be neglected. To this end, he made two suggestions. First, that the Health Committee, at its next meeting, should endeavour to formulate a programme of work for a reasonably long period, say three or five years, and append to it an estimate of expenditure. The programme and the estimate of cost should be circulated in time for the various States Members to be able to instruct their delegates to the next Assembly of the League to deal with it. This would enable the League to take a definite step on the path of systematic advance in 1931. If the Secretariat could, in the near future, ask the States Members to submit suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee, say in May or June, the task of framing a comprehensive and well-thought-out scheme of activity would be greatly facilitated.

Mr. Bajpai threw out two other suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee. The first related to the interchange of Health Officers. He asked the Health Committee to consider whether, with a view to enabling exchange of experience in regard to problems such as anti-malarial work, in rural and industrial areas, an interchange would not be useful between countries in Eastern Europe and in Asia, where conditions might be analogous.

His second suggestion was that the Health Organisation might arrange to provide facilities for the study of special problems of sanitary administration, such as a scientific system of water supply by Health Officers from the East in the more advanced Western countries where these elementary but essential measures have been perfected.

Annex V.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir G. Corbett in the Second Committee on the 18th September 1929.*

Sir G. L. Corbett said that the report of Dr. Breitscheid covered a very wide field and raised a large number of questions of particular interest to India. He would refer only to the two most important resolutions submitted to the Committee. The resolution concerning coal contemplated the convening of a preparatory technical Conference to which the representatives of the mining countries of Europe would be invited. India was also a country which produced coal. If the object of the Conference was merely to suggest to the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation what questions relating to conditions of employment in coal mines in Europe should be included in the agenda, its constitution wouldbe appropriate ; but a body so constituted would not be competent to advise on questions relating to conditions of employment in coal mines outside Europe. This was a point which would have to be made clear in the Resolution.

The question of customs tariffs appeared to him to be a primarily European one, and he pointed out the contrast between Europe, divided as it was by a great many customs barriers, and India, which with its enormous population constituted a single customs terrritory. Undoubtedly tariff discrimination and tariff bargaining were the economic evil with which any Conference would primarily have to deal. Agreeing with the delegate of Australia, he pointed out that the Economic Conference of 1927 had not condemned tariffs as such, nor had proposed a general lowering of all tariffs of every kind, and he quoted the exact text of the recommendation of the Conference on this subject. He added that it was to this declaration that the delegation of India had adhered, and he was sure that Dr. Breitscheid had had no intention in his report of going beyond this recommendation. The new drafting of the report was satisfactory, but he considered that it was important that there should be no misunderstanding on this point. The word "tariff" had become in many countries a synonym of excessive tariff, of tariff hampering trade, but India considered that the customs tariff which she imposed was moderate and in conformity with the principles approved by the Economic Conference. It was primarily a revenue tariff. It was a tax on consumption, and was well suited to a country where direct taxation was unpopular and individual incomes were small. This tariff always took into account the effect on the consumer and on international trade.

In addition, from time to time protection was given to industries which, after a full and public inquiry by a Tariff Board, were considered to have natural advantages which would enable them, within a calculable time, to stand up to world competition without protection. These protective tariffs were few and the period for which they were accorded was ordinarily limited by statute. High protective tariffs were, as far as possible, avoided even for a limited period ; for example, two years ago, when the great cotton textile industry had been threatened by what the Tariff Board considered unfair competition, help had been granted, not by an increase in import duties on cotton piece-goods, but by removing the revenue duties on machinery and certain chemicals, dyes and other materials employed in this industry.

The representative of India regretted, therefore, that he would be unable to undertake on behalf of his country to support any resolution or to participate in any conference which would bind India to refrain from increasing its customs duties for a term of years, for the tariff in his country was primarily a revenue tariff and it was impossible to foresee what would be the future revenue needs of India. He admitted that the text of the resolution only referred to protective tariffs, but he emphasised the difficulty of distinguishing between protective tariffs and revenue tariffs or of drawing a line of demarcation between them. A revenue duty often had, as a kind of by-product, some protective effect, and when a revenue was being framed it might be right and proper to consider its effect on the producer as well as on the consumer. India, therefore, would undertake nothing which she might be unable to carry out.

Moreover, India was not prepared to suspend for a term of years her protective policy. She considered that it was sane, moderate and necessary for the economic welfare of the country. India had not abused her fiscal freedom in the past, and there was no reason why she should be

expected to fetter her freedom now. He appreciated that such an undertaking might be necessary in some cases in order to create "an atmosphere of confidence," but there was nothing in the tariff policy of India, past or present, that need disturb the confidence of anyone. Many speakers had alluded to the tariff war in Europe, and had described this undertaking as a "tariff truce" or a "tariff armistice." Such an armistice should be for the belligerents, and India, which was neutral in this war, need not be expected to be a party to it.

He had understood the terms of the Resolution to mean that this undertaking was to be a condition precedent to participation in the final Conference "to frame a first collective agreement for diminishing hindrances to trade and developing and facilitating economic relations by all practicable means"; and he was glad to see that the procedure now outlined in the draft report provided that all States without distinction would be invited to participate in the final Conference. It was too early yet to consider whether India would accept such an invitation; but other countries might find that, from their own point of view, the Conference might suffer from the enforced absence of such an important consumer of goods manufactured in Europe. The economic recovery of Europe depended to a considerable extent on the prosperity and increased purchasing power of the vast populations of countries like India. India was primarily an agricultural country, and could not purchase manufactured articles from Europe unless she could find a fair market for her exports of agricultural produce. He hoped that efforts would be made, firstly, to check any tendency towards raising tariff barriers against agricultural produce; secondly, to stabilise agricultural prices; and thirdly, to rationalise the distribution of agricultural produce.

Annex VI.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Raza Ali in the Third Committee on the League Wireless Station, on the 11th September 1929.*

Syed Raza Ali raised the point as to whether the large sum of money which it would be necessary to find in order to build a radio-telegraphic station and to maintain it, would give results proportionate to the outlay. He asked whether the League would be justified in spending such large sums as would be involved in view of the already heavy burdens placed upon it. Would it not be wiser to see whether present requirements could not be met by the stations already functioning in various countries, and thus for the time being save the money in question? If necessary, the scheme could be reconsidered at a later stage.

In any event, he wished to make it clear that unless the station to be set up at Geneva was equipped with a short-wave apparatus, it would not be possible to communicate with India and other distant countries, and it was precisely those words (short-wave) which it was proposed to delete from the resolution submitted by the British Delegation. He quite understood the reasons adduced in favour of not committing themselves to the building of a short-wave station, but nevertheless, if far-distant countries were to benefit by the scheme, the station would need to be equipped with a short-wave apparatus, and that would be a very costly undertaking. India's annual contribution amounted to a large sum, and she has been paying this regularly. She could not be expected to participate in this costly scheme.

In conclusion, he emphasised the view that the Committee should consider carefully before committing itself to the adoption of a scheme the expense of which might not give results proportionate to the outlay.

Annex VII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir M. Habibullah in the Third Committee on Financial Assistance, on the 12th September 1929.*

Sir Muhammad Habibullah asked leave to outline the attitude of his Government in regard to the Draft Convention.

From her geographical position, India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but India, being a civilised country, felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world. It was from that point of view only that his Government was prepared to accept the Draft Agreement.

It would be necessary to place the scheme before the Legislatures of his country before the Government of India could express its assent. India would probably not assent to the scheme unless and until it was made clear to her that she would never be called upon to place herself in the list of special guarantors.

India considered that her contribution towards the expenses of the League was large, and hoped for the day when it might be reduced. He wished to make it plain that if India assented to the Draft Convention, it would be on the distinct understanding that any contribution India might be asked to pay should not be based upon her contribution at the time of entry into force of the Convention, but on the actual contribution she might be paying at the time the liability arose. It would be necessary for his Government, before giving assent to the Convention, to justify its position before its own Legislatures. It might be expected that when the proposal was put before the Legislatures they would be anxious to know which other countries had accepted the Convention, and therefore, unless and until the Legislatures and the Government of India together felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the Great Powers, but had been accepted by Powers throughout the world, whose participation would be a guarantee that it would be used effectively. India would see no object in signing it, or in incurring financial liability as a result of it.

Annex VIII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ewart Greaves in the Third Committee on Financial Assistance, on the 16th September 1929.*

Sir Ewart Greaves reminded the Committee of the terms upon which India was prepared to adhere to the Convention. An amendment had been prepared to Article 6 in order to carry out these terms, whereby it was proposed to substitute in the last line but one of this Article the date of the flotation of the loan for the date of the entry into force of the Convention. This had been

discussed with Sir Henry Strakosch, who had thought that as drafted it might affect loans already issued. That was not the intention of the Government of India. Sir Henry Strakosch suggested that it would probably be better not to amend the Article, but that India should sign with a reservation to be contained in a Protocol, which, of course, would have to obtain the assent of the other members of the League who had signed the Convention. India was prepared to accept this suggestion.

ANNEX IX.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir C. V. Mehta in the Fourth Committee on Supplementary Estimates, on the 21st September 1929.*

Sir Chunilal Mehta thought that no parliament would agree to examine requests for supplementary credits in so short a time.

The views of the Supervisory Commission carried great weight and, as he had stated on a previous occasion, that Commission did not approach its work in the narrow spirit of purely financial controllers, but bore in mind the fact that the League was a growing body, and that corresponding financial provision should be made for it. The last paragraph of the Commission's report was therefore all the more important. This paragraph reads as follows :—

> "The Supervisory Commission regrets that in many of the foregoing questions it has been unable to formulate or to sift estimates of expenditure with the care which in all ordinary circumstances it endeavours to devote to its work. The conditions of working have this year been wholly exceptional. As noted already, most of the proposals have reached the Commission at the eleventh hour; no sufficient facts or material have in some cases been available for examining their financial consequences in detail. In several instances the proposals have been communicated to the Commission informally, sometimes even verbally. The result is that much of the estimating has been necessarily superficial, and it has been wholly impossible to form or to submit to the Fourth Committee any general survey of the financial position or of the effect of these proposals upon the equilibrium of the budget."

Sir Chunilal felt that the Commission would not have made statements of this kind unless it were thoroughly convinced that the present system was unsatisfactory. He agreed with the Norwegian delegate that the Committee should be given full time to consider the requests for supplementary credits before it.

ANNEX X.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala in the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, on 12th September 1929.*

This is not the first time that I have had the honour of attending the meetings of this Committee and of offering some comments on the work of the Advisory Commission. Now, as before, I desire to express appreciation of the Reports which we have before us, and if I do not feel called upon to repeat the warnings which I previously ventured to offer as to the possible consequences of approaching Eastern problems with Western preconceptions, it is because I recognise that the Advisory Commission has been pursuing its labours with a notable discretion. I can assure you that the social and humanitarian work which the League is doing in this field is being followed with marked interest in India. There are forces at work in the East as well as in the West for the improvement of the social conditions of life, and even if differences of environment and culture must to some extent result in differences of method and procedure, there is an identity of aim which finds a common source of encouragement and inspiration in the proceedings which have their centre here in Geneva.

The part of the report of the Advisory Commission in which we in India are most interested at the moment is, naturally, that which deals with the extension to the East of the investigations of the special body of experts on the traffic in women and children. We welcome the extensions of the inquiry under the conditions laid down in the resolution of the Council. I understand that certain changes in the methods of the inquiry which are necessitated by the different character of the new field of investigation are being actively considered and will be finally settled by the Council in December. I hope that these changes will be carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned, and that the special body of experts will shortly be able to renew their work in the countries of the East, including India, where, I am sure, they or their representatives will receive a warm welcome and all possible assistance. We all recognise with gratitude the private munificence which makes this work possible.

I now propose, with your indulgence, to travel somewhat outside the strict limits of our discussion, and to attempt very briefly to give you some idea of what I am sure all experienced observers must recognise as the truly remarkable and significant developments which are taking place in India at the present time in regard to the position and welfare of women. It would not, perhaps, be justifiable in the ordinary way for a delegate to take up any of your time with a description of the social conditions of his own particular country. But the conditions under which women and children live in India have received a certain amount of lively attention in other countries in recent years, and may, therefore, be presumed to be of some general interest. Moreover, it is almost impossible not to believe that we are witnessing the beginning of a very interesting and important phase which may eventually have reactions far outside India.

I have no desire to pretend that evils do not exist or to minimise their gravity. I do wish to suggest, however, that those evils must be looked at in their true perspective. In one of the works of Balzac the following passage occurs :—

> "Ce que l'Europe admire l'Asie le punit. Ce qui est un vice à Paris est une nécessité quant on a passé les Açores. Rien n'est fixe ici bas : il n'y existe que des conventions qui se modifient suivant les climats."

That puts in its extreme form the notion which I have in mind, though I do not myself at all wish to imply by quoting those words that the social evils of India are virtues in disguise ; they are evils, however much the nature and degree of them may need qualification. Nor, on the other

hand, do I wish to exaggerate the progress which has so far been made in India in dealing with them. I only wish to place before you the evidence that consciences are being stirred, that a spontaneous movement of progress and reform is already under weigh, that changes are taking place which would have been regarded as inconceivable only a short time ago, and finally, that in India, the country of caste and purdah, where within living memory all women of station and reputation lived a life of complete seclusion—the women are themselves taking the matter in hand. Educated women, whose interests were at first confined to the arts, have thrown themselves with zest into activities aiming at the uplift and enlightenment of their own kind. This they are attempting to achieve by work both inside and outside legislative bodies, which, except in one province, are now open to women in India. It would be impossible to give anything like a complete survey, and I only select a few important and significant topics.

First, as to the age of marriage and the age of consent, a subject to which the Advisory Commission has devoted much attention. In British India marriage may be contracted at present at any age, but this must be qualified by the fact that marriage cannot be legally consummated until the girl is 13. Outside the marital relation the age of consent is 14. These ages have been raised to their present level progressively during the last 100 years. Bills are before the Indian Legislature for fixing, for the first time, the age of marriage and for raising the age of consent. Both questions have lately been considered by a Committee appointed by the Government, and the Legislature, which is now actually in session, is engaged in considering legislation in the light of the report of this Commission. If, as the Committee has recommended, an age of marriage is fixed, a change will have taken place which will profoundly affect the social conditions of India.

Secondly, legislation has been passed during the present year in two of the provinces of India with the object of suppressing abuses such as those in which our Advisory Commission is interested. With the object of terminating the custom whereby minor girls of a certain caste were trained for immoral purposes, a law has been passed in the United Provinces empowering magistrates to restrict or regulate the movements of such girls and to arrange for their proper custody. The second and more important instance of legislation during the present year is an enactment of the Madras Legislature to stop the abuses which have grown up in connection with the devadisis or unmarried girls, who have been dedicated to temples for the performance of certain temple services, and who receive certain endowments for their maintenance. Originally, the practice was of a pious and harmless nature, the position of the girls being similar to that of the Vestal Virgins at Rome, but it had degenerated into abuse. The girls have now been relieved of all obligation to perform any services in consideration of the revenues which they receive, and the practice, with its immoral incidents, should die a natural death. I would call your special attention to the fact that this important and difficult piece of legislation was passed on the motion of a woman who is the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council.

The two widest fields of social work are, of course, health and education. In both cases the systems of caste and purdah present great difficulties in India. These institutions will not be swept away all at once, even if it were desirable that they should be. In fact, it is obvious that education must, to some extent, precede their removal. Practical reformers must take them as they exist, seeking to take full advantage of the relaxation of their force, which his gradually occurring. The provision of medical aid of the modern sort to women and children is undoubtedly one of the great problems of India. Such aid is often not within easy reach, and, when it is, many women will not seek medical advice from men in the case of child-birth and of the diseases peculiar to their sex. I will not, however, say more on the subject, except that I believe that it would be of great value if the organisations of the League for health and social questions, acting in co-operation, were to apply the comparative method of study to the best means of rendering the essential modicum of medical knowledge available to such people.

Education is the key to all these problems. I am sure you will all agree with me if I say that progress depends on the ability of women themselves to appreciate their own needs, to formulate their own programme and to work for the realisation of it. Any sign, therefore, that the education of girls is beginning to be regarded as desirable is of importance, and such signs are becoming markedly manifest in India. The increase in the number of girls under instruction during the last five years in British India was over 400,000, or more than twice that of the preceding five years. The percentage of girls under instruction compared with the total female population, though still small, has increased. The number of women under instruction in training colleges, and this is a vital point, has increased in five years by almost 100 per cent., and is 12 times as large as that of 25 years ago. The recent Royal Commission on Agriculture in India recorded the opinion that the value to the community of the education of its women lies particularly in its effect upon the spread of literacy among the young. The same authoritative body observed that there were indications that a change in the general attitude towards female education had set in, and that a valuable stimulus was coming from the women themselves. Indeed, both the authorities and the people are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that education begins in the home, and that unless the mothers of families possess some idea of the meaning and value of education, the basis of real social progress will be lacking. In fact, the belief that the education of women is essential to national advancement is now widespread.

The most interesting and encouraging sign of all is the birth of an organisation originally known as the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform, which first met in 1927. It now has held three annual meetings, and its organisation, which is based upon local conferences, has expanded in a notable fashion. It has 11 constituencies in the Indian States and 21 in British India. Through its constituencies it stimulates interest and activity in many different places, and by means of its annual gathering it concentrates the local forces. Funds are being collected which will enable it to apply its influence throughout the year wherever its intervention may be desirable. I am proud to say that women of my own Order have played a leading part in its work. The first chairman was Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, who has laboured strenuously in the cause of women for many years. The second chairman was Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, herself until lately the ruler of an important State ; and the proceedings of the present year were presided over by Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi, who is a notable example of self-deliverance from the bondage of tradition. This conference has formulated the view that while women are grateful for the

immense service already rendered by the educational authorities, the present system in India was thought out primarily in the interests of boys, and was formulated by men, and that the time has come for women to review and reform this system. Upon this basis their activities rest. Although the organisation started with the idea of dealing exclusively with educational matters, it has found that it could not confine its activities in this way. It has now decided, in view of the widespread awakening of interest amongst the women of India in all questions affecting their welfare, to widen its scope and to have in future two sections, one dealing exclusively with educational matters and the other with matters of social reform. I have ventured to invite special attention to this particular movement because of its intrinsic importance, though I do not suppose that you who do not know the East personally will appreciate to the full its phenomenal character. You will, however, all agree with me that it deserves our warmest sympathy and encouragement.

What I have said so far has been mainly concerned with British India. I naturally cannot omit to deal briefly with the Indian States, although it is extraordinarily difficult to do so in a general way. It is by no means easy to generalise about British India, but it is almost impossible to do so about the States. In size, wealth, development, culture and administration they vary very greatly. Many are still in what you in Europe would call a mediæval condition, and have not reached the stage at which the emancipation of women and the importance of their social conditions is a live issue. But in the more wealthy and progressive States the advancement of ideas is no less marked than in British India, and, indeed, some of the States are ahead of British India in certain important respects. On the whole, the conservative principle is more strong in the States and the systems of caste and purdah are perhaps even more rigidly observed and less amenable to change than in British India. Welfare work, therefore, develops very slowly. But the evidence of progress is striking in such States as, for example, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior and Travancore. The women of Travancore are more advanced educationally than those of any other part of India, and the proportion of girls to boys attending schools and colleges is 10 to 17 in that States. Examples of maternity centres, baby weeks, social clubs for women, girls' schools, girl guides, institutes for training midwives, &c., are becoming fairly common. Such efforts are generally confined to the large towns, but there is evidence to show that the interest is spreading to the villages. As a rule these clubs and institutions have been organised and financed and run solely on the initiative of educated and well-to-do women, though with financial support and encouragement from Government. I wish I had time to lay before you the evidence which shows that in some of these States the last few years have undoubtedly witnessed the beginning of a real awakening among women. It can be observed that they discuss and do things in a manner which would hardly have been possible 10 years ago. The movement towards better conditions may be, and indeed is, only in its infancy. Its value cannot be judged except by those with personal knowledge of the recent past, when the things which are now happening would have seemed inconceivable. I am not trying to impress you with a sense of reforms already accomplished. I would only leave you with the impression that even in the East, which is popularly supposed to be unchanging, the seeds of great changes have been sown and are beginning to germinate, and even in some places to blossom and fructify. It would be well if we occupied ourselves rather with watching and encouraging the forces which are moving towards the development of better conditions than with morbidly contemplating the evils which have to be cured.

Annex XI.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir C. V. Mehta in the Fifth Committee on Dangerous Drugs, on the 18th September 1929.*

Sir Chunilal Mehta regretted that it had not been possible to submit copies of his resolution to the Committee earlier, and would therefore read it. The resolution was put forward not so much in support of the Advisory Committee and its Chairman, who were well able to look after themselves, but because it was necessary for the Assembly, as a whole, speaking authoritatively on behalf of all State Members, to declare that those States were determined to put an end to the evil of the illicit traffic, and that they would assist the Advisory Committee by all possible means in tracking down the traffickers.

His resolution was as follows :—

> "The Assembly,
>
> "Having noted the Report of the Advisory Committee at its 12th Session, expressed its satisfaction with the work which has been accomplished, and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925 and to expose the extent and methods of the illicit traffic, and desires that these efforts will be continued and will receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect."

India had the cleanest possible record, not only in regard to opium, but also in regard to the manufacture and control of drugs. He welcomed the resolution of the British Delegation. No step could be more important at the present moment than the limitation of manufacture. No step could be too progressive so far as his country was concerned. He believed that that measure would achieve some of the effect sought by the Assembly. For the full effect to be attained, it might be necessary to go further and follow the example of India, which had for many years had a Government monopoly of the manufacture of narcotic drugs. He congratulated the Spanish Government upon having set up a similar monopoly in its country.

India was one of the consuming countries, one of the unfortunate victims. In the first six months of 1929 no less than 4,668 ounces had been seized by the police in India. The drugs came from various sources and bore different labels, and they were distributed almost regularly over the six months in question. Certain seizures had exceeded 1,000 ounces in amount. It was therefore necessary for India that drastic steps should be taken, and no step could be too progressive for India. He therefore gave the fullest support to the principle of the British proposal and likewise to the Austrian resolution, which he believed was a substantial contribution to the debate. The unanimous efforts of the police of all countries would ensure a large measure of control.

Grave as the situation might be, there was perhaps no necessity for the pessimism expressed by certain members. The work of the Advisory Committee and the action taken by several countries had only laid bare the activities of those engaged in this nefarious traffic, and although the seizures showed no signs of diminution in quantity, there was no reason to believe that the efforts made so far had not met with the success they deserved. To bring greater success to those efforts the Advisory Committee must be supported in every possible way. With this end in view, he called special attention to the last part of his resolution and expressed the hope that the countries would stand by the declaration contained therein, that they would do everything in their power to track down and punish the traffickers and co-operate with one another. The Indian Delegation believed that a small measure of control agreed to by a large number of countries would be more effective than stringent measures carried out only by a few countries. They therefore pressed for the ratification and rigorous application of the Geneva Convention. It was because of the enormous profits involved in the illicit traffic that it was necessary to make constant efforts to track down those engaged in it. That could only be done by all Governments constantly putting into force every detail of the Geneva Convention and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. The Permanent Central Board had been in existence for only a short time, but much would be expected of it. If, as he hoped, the Assembly gave its support to a scheme for the limitation of manufacture by rationing, it was to be feared that it would take some time for such a scheme to come into operation. There should be no relaxation of the fight in the meantime. The Assembly should be asked to emphasise the fact that the League was not going to accept defeat and that it trusted its technical bodies. It was gratifying to note that various countries were taking action. He could not help thinking that if they gave full details of the seizures made, of the punishment awarded, of the import, export and stock of drugs, of the measures taken and proposed to be taken in their periodical reports to the Committees, which should be circulated to the States Members, the Fifth Commission would be in a position next year to take a general review and marshal its plan of campaign against this scourge of humanity.

Annex XII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Raza Ali in the Sixth Committee on Slavery, on the 5th September* 1929.

Syed Raza Ali said that as the representative of a country that was deeply interested in the abolition of slavery and forced labour and all forms of compulsory labour, he could not be a party to recording a silent vote. He thought that in the draft which Viscount Cecil had read to the Commission, he had made his point quite clear. The important and essential point so far as slavery was concerned was not only that it should be abolished in those areas where it still existed, but that a very serious effort should be made by the League to strike at the root of the system which sanctioned any form of compulsory labour, because, so far as he had been able to study the matter, the system that sanctioned slavery on the one hand and the system that sanctioned forced labour on the other differed only to a very small extent. He therefore wholeheartedly supported the proposal of the British delegate that the League of Nations should undertake an examination of the whole question.

He wished to make a few observations on the remarks made by the delegate of Portugal. He begged the Committee not to make any difference between the question of native labour and that of non-native labour. While the conditions of labour in general varied considerably from country to country, and while what was true of one country was not true of another, yet these differences should not be based upon the fact that certain labour was drawn from a particular class, nor should any distinction be made regarding the colour of the labourers. He believed that, generally speaking, what applied to labour conditions in certain European countries also applied to similar conditions in Asia and Africa.

Referring to the remark of the Portuguese delegate to the effect that the evil of slavery was not so great as was feared by many people, the speaker thought that this was a matter for congratulation, but in that case the proposal made by Viscount Cecil was quite harmless. If the evil was not so great as had been feared, there could be no harm in an inquiry being made into its magnitude, as there would be no need for any very drastic action. On the other hand, there were a number of people keenly interested in the question who believed that the system of slavery did exist in certain countries, and amounted to a most objectionable abuse, and there could be no reason why an opportunity should not be given to those people to prove their contention.

He personally was of opinion that it would be advisable to appoint a Commission to deal with the whole question and submit a report to the League of Nations, which in its turn would be analysed and examined. Such a system would avoid delay, for although the League of Nations, having regard to its composition, was a most unique body, it was slow to move, and if a sub-committee were appointed it might give rise to the objection in certain countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, that the question was being shelved. While, therefore, he was willing to support either suggestion, he believed that the fairest way of dealing with the question would be to appoint a Commission straight away with power to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into the question and if necessary to visit certain countries on the invitation either of the people of those countries or of powerful and influential organisations.

The British Empire had nothing to fear from such an inquiry, as was shown from the fact that the proposal had been made by the British delegate. So far as India was concerned, he did not wish the question to be prejudged. Let the Commission be appointed, let it go into the matter in India, as in other countries, and he thought that examination of the conditions existing in India would not be found to be to the detriment of that country.

In conclusion, the speaker heartily supported the proposal made by Viscount Cecil for the appointment of a Commission.

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